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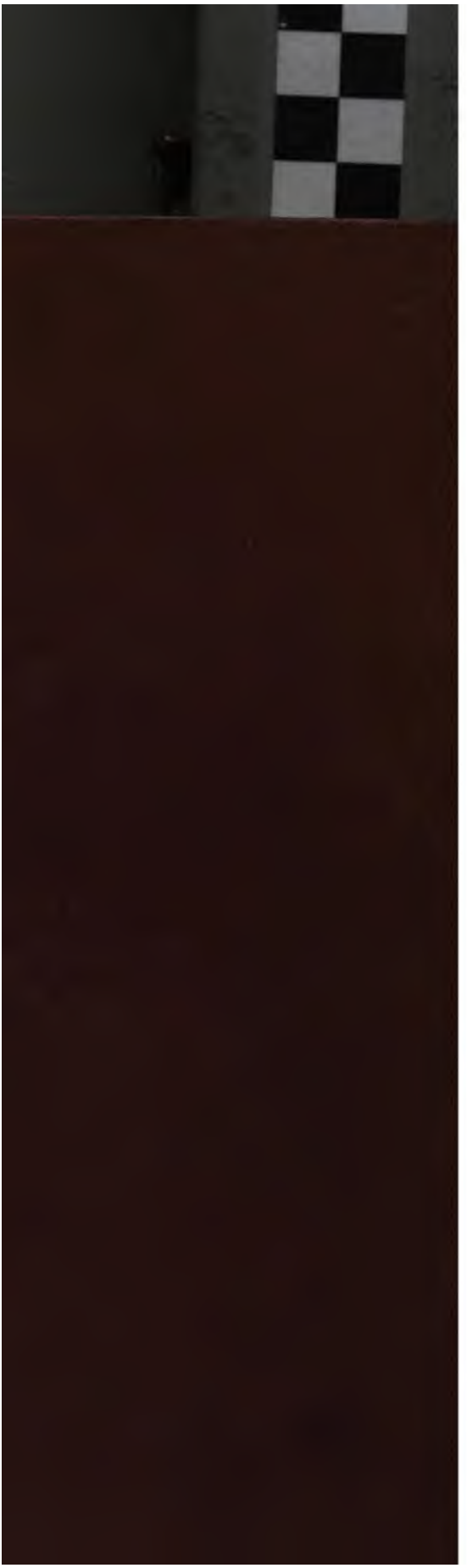

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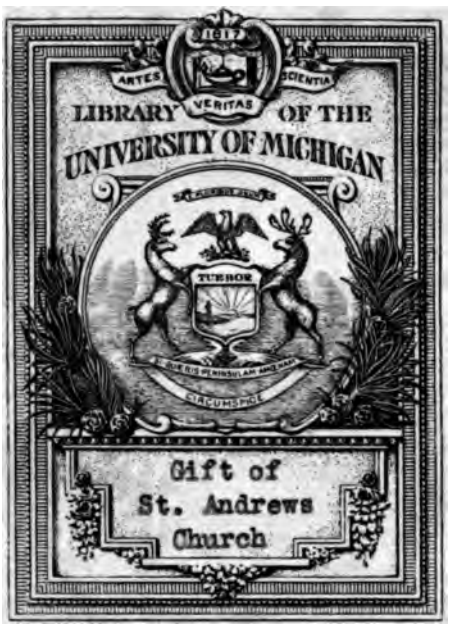

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THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

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WILLIAM III. TO VICTORIA.

BY THE

REV. A. H. HORE, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 190, *line* 28, *for* was *read* they.
— 207, *line* 22, *for* Wilson *read* Watson.
— 220, *line* 23, *for* Bible *read* School.
— 269, *line* 21, *for* helped *read* it helped.
— 348, *line* 13, *for* forms *read* form.
— 407, *line* 18, *for* 1876 *read* 1870.

PART II. (*continued*).

THE CHURCH AT ITS LOWEST POINT OF INFLUENCE.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LATER PHASE OF THE TRINITARIAN CONTROVERSY.

WE have already noticed two aspects of the Trinitarian Controversy, the first that between Sherlock and South at the end of the seventeenth century; the second that in which Whiston and Clarke were the principal actors, in the early years of the eighteenth century. A new departure was imported into the controversy in 1719. It commenced with a claim to sign the XXXIX. Articles in a non-natural or Arian sense; it culminated in a claim made by the "Feathers Tavern Petition" for exemption from all subscription whatsoever to the Church's formularies.

In 1718, Dr. Clarke, in order to suit his doctrines, assumed to himself the right of introducing a new form of Doxology into the Psalms in his church. His new Doxology ran thus: "To God, through Christ His Son, All glory be;" or, "To God, through Christ His Only Son, Immortal glory be." Dr. Robinson, Bishop of London, compelled him to desist from the practice, and sent a Pastoral in condemnation of it to the Clergy of his diocese, which drew

on himself the wrath of Whiston, Sykes, and others. In 1719 Clarke, together with Whiston and some people who objected to the Athanasian Creed, drew up a petition to Parliament against it, but we are told that "it was mentioned with disgust by Lord Nottingham," and the matter was dropped[a]. But in this same year a far more important person than any whom Dr. Clarke either before or afterwards met appeared on the scene, in the person of Waterland.

Daniel Waterland (1683—1740) having, in 1704, graduated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, became a Fellow, and in 1713 the Earl of Suffolk, with whom the presentation rested, conferred upon him the Mastership, of the college. In 1715 he was chosen Vice-Chancellor in succession to Dr. Sherlock, and (although he had published some smaller works) it was not till four years later that he gave to the world his first considerable work, "A Vindication of Christ's Divinity, being a Defence of some Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's scheme of the Holy Trinity, in answer to a Clergyman in the Country." From that time to his death, in 1740, he was engaged in one unending controversy with the Arians and Free-thinkers.

The circumstances which led to the publication of this great work were these. A few years previously Dr. Waterland had drawn up certain queries for the

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[a] Whiston's Memoirs of Clarke, p. 78.

purpose of pointing out to a Clergyman living in the country, and personally unknown to him, the errors of Dr. Clarke's notions on the Trinity. This Clergyman, who was Mr. John Jackson, Rector of Rossington and Vicar of Doncaster, after some time announced to Dr. Waterland that he had been persuaded (as it appears principally by Dr. Clarke) to send, although without asking Waterland's consent, these Queries to the press with his own Answers to them. Waterland complained of this treatment, and of being thus forced into a controversy, and determined to revise the Queries, and to give them to the world in a more perfect form. To this circumstance we owe the publication of the Vindication. From the moment that Waterland took the field, Dr. Clarke's reputation sensibly diminished, whilst Dr. Waterland's was raised so high, that he was appointed by Dr. Robinson, Bishop of London, to preach the first course of sermons at the Lecture lately founded by Lady Moyer[b], which he afterwards published as a supplement to his "Vindication of Christ's Divinity [c]."

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[b] Lady Moyer by her will left twenty guineas a year for "an able Minister of God's Word to preach eight Sermons every year on the Trinity and Divinity of our Blessed Saviour . . . in St. Paul's, if permitted there, if not, elsewhere." As there was no compulsory obligation by the will for perpetuating the Lectures, they seem to have ceased in 1773.

[c] Instead, however, of being a mere supplement, it is in itself

... Dr. Clarke made
id vain attempt to disguise his Arian p
henever he used the word God to sig
ather, he always inserted the word *supre*
implying thereby the inferiority of the S
henever the word was applied to the Son,
me qualifying expression to give it a sub
eaning, thus, in fact, making a *supreme* an
dinate God. "I do not charge you," wr
'aterland, "with asserting two *supreme* G
do charge you with holding two Gods, one s
nother inferior[e]."

Shortly before this time another oppo
'aterland had appeared in the person of Dr.
r. Whitby (1638—1726), who is best known
orld by his "Commentary on the New Testa
ought out, in 1718, a small volume in wl
tacked Dr. Bull's "Defence of the Nicene

---

erfect treatise, and has obtained, perhaps, a more
culation than any of the author's other publicatio
ldert's Life of Waterland, p. 53.
[1] The "Modest Plea"

and which he dedicated to Dr. Clarke. Bishop Bull had died in 1709, and the reason why Whitby did not bring out his book before 1718, nine years, that is, after Bull's death, does not appear. In this work Dr. Whitby does not express himself as being entirely satisfied with Dr. Clarke's views, but he maintains that the Trinitarian Controversy could not certainly be decided from the writings of the Fathers, and that Bull had wandered from the truth and laboured in vain, for that many of the opinions which he deduced from the Fathers were not different from those of persons who were adverse to the Faith. Dr. Waterland, in the defence of his 26th *Query*, comments with some severity on Dr. Whitby's book; he charges him with some general fallacies running through the whole work, and notices *defects*, *misquotations*, *misconstructions*, and *misrepresentations*. Whitby returned an angry reply; Waterland had charged him with a general fallacy of making no distinction between *Essence* and *Person* in the Godhead; Whitby retorts by accusing him of "a perpetual fallacy in using the word *hypostasis* to signify neither a *general* essence, that is, an essence common to all the Three, nor an *existent*, or an *individual* essence."

In his answer Waterland again notices Whitby's general fallacy of making *essence* and *person* signify the same thing, and of raising a dispute, not on what Bishop Bull had himself maintained, but on

what Dr. Whitby presumed to be his opinion. "The question with Bishop Bull," says Waterland, "was whether the Ante-Nicene Fathers believed the Son to be an *eternal, uncreated,* and strictly *divine* substance. But with you it is whether they believed him to be the same *numerical intellectual essence* (that is, as you interpret it, *Person*) with the Father." Dr. Whitby resumed the contest in "The Second Part of a Reply to Dr. Waterland's Objections, with an Appendix in defence of the First Part of the Reply;" but as this was little more than a repetition of the former Reply, Dr. Waterland, whose attention was now called off to another matter, let it pass.

In the first edition of his "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," Dr. Clarke laid it down as a maxim that in subscribing to *Protestant* formularies or confessions which professed to be guided solely by *Scripture-authority,* "every person may reasonably agree to such forms *whenever he can, in any sense at all, reconcile them with Scripture.*" In the second edition he omitted this passage, but "Arian Subscription" became a matter of warm controversy, Whiston and Emlyn indignantly disclaiming it, and Dr. Sykes siding with Clarke in defending it. Under those circumstances Dr. Waterland published his tract, entitled "The case of Arian Subscription considered, and the several Pleas and Excuses for it particularly examined and confuted." The defence of Arian subscription, he says, rests upon two suppositions:

(1.) "That every expression in our public forms is capable of a sense consistent with the *new scheme.* (2.) That their being capable of such a sense is enough; without regard had to the more plain, obvious, and natural signification of the words themselves, or to the *intention* of those who first compiled the forms, or who now impose them. If either of these suppositions (much more if both) prove false or groundless, the whole defence of *Arian Subscription* drops of course." He then shews: (1.) "That the sense of the compilers and imposers (where certainly known) must be religiously observed; even though the words were capable of another sense. (2.) That whatever has been pretended, there are several expressions in the public forms which are really not capable of any sense consistent with the *Arian hypothesis* or *New Scheme.*"

This tract soon brought him into controversy with Mr. Sykes, who published "The case of Subscription to the XXXIX. Articles considered, occasioned by Dr. Waterland's Case of Arian Subscription," with the object of showing that Dr. Waterland and other writers on the same side subscribed the Articles in a private sense of their own, different from that of the framers or imposers of the Articles. Dr. Waterland had, however, already, in his "Case of Arian Subscription," stated what extent of latitude the compilers and imposers of the Articles allowed; he drew the difference between propositions which are ex-

"Observations," Dr. Waterland takes notice that Dr. Clarke's friends had not cleared his scheme of the charge of making two Gods, one supreme and the other inferior; that they had not removed the difficulty of supposing God the Son and God the Holy Ghost to be *two creatures;* had not been able to defend *creature-worship;* had not invalidated the proofs of *divine worship* being due to Christ; not accounted for divine titles, attributes, and honour being ascribed to a *creature;* nor given satisfaction as to Christ's being both Creator and Creature; nor established Dr. Clarke's pretences to Catholic antiquity[k]. In conclusion, Dr. Waterland traces the progress of the controversy between Mr. Jackson, Dr. Clarke, and himself; he remarks upon his being forced into it, and complains of the treatment which he had received, and animadverts on his opponents for concealing their names. Dr. Clarke made no reply to this "Further Vindication;" Mr. Jackson put forth an answer to it in "Further Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Further Vindication, by *Philalethes Cantabrigiensis;*" but to this fourth pamphlet Waterland made no answer, and retired from the contest.

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[k] Life of Waterland, p. 77.

Introduction, of inquiring into the "age, author, and value of that celebrated Confession, which goes under the name of the Athanasian Creed[l]." As to the time and place of the composition of the Creed, he infers that "the Creed was in all probability composed in Gaul, some time between the year 426 and the year 430," and he supposes the author to have been "Hilary, Bishop of Arles, a celebrated man of that time, and of chief repute in the Gallican Church."

Dr. Waterland, although he is said to have refused the See of Llandaff, never attained to the Episcopate. In 1721 he was presented by the Chapter of St. Paul's to the Rectory of St. Austin and St. Faith, London; in 1724 he was made by Archbishop Dawes Chancellor of York Cathedral. In 1727 he became a Canon of Windsor, in 1730 Vicar of Twickenham, and in the same year was appointed Archdeacon of London by Dr. Gibson; in 1734 he was offered, but refused, the Prolocutorship of the Lower House of Convocation, and died in 1740, in his fifty-eighth year[m].

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[l] The first edition was published in 1723, and the second, corrected and improved, in 1728.

[m] As Dr. Bull, the immortal defender of the Faith against Arianism, died in 1709, and Dr. Waterland appeared on the scene in 1719, he may be regarded as the champion of the Trinity in almost unbroken succession from Bull. Waterland, however, is less favourably known for his "Review of the Doctrine

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[l] The first edition was published in 1723, and the second, corrected and improved, in 1728.

[m] As Dr. Bull, the immortal defender of the Faith against Arianism, died in 1709, and Dr. Waterland appeared on the scene in 1719, he may be regarded as the champion of the Trinity in almost unbroken succession from Bull. Waterland, however, is less favourably known for his "Review of the Doctrine

Dr. Clarke died in 1729, leaving "An Exposition of the Church Catechism," which was by his express desire published the same year. In that work the author studiously inculcated all his previous heresy; worship was to be given to the Father only, *through* the Son and *in* the Holy Ghost, implying that worship is not to be given to either as their due, but only *through* or *by* them ultimately to the Father. He also represented the work of Redemption and of Sanctification to be from the Father only, by the Son and the Holy Ghost, as if these were mere instruments in His hands; and consequently to Him only, and not to them, is the glory to be ascribed. Dr. Waterland published his "Remarks" on this Exposition in the following year, in which he censures several passages; he observes that Dr. Clarke in explaining that answer in the Church Catechism which states belief in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, "says nothing of God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost; he never asserts the Divinity of either, never so much as gives them the title of God[n]." Dr. Clarke seems to have met more

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of the Eucharist, as laid down in Scripture and Antiquity," and three Charges, in 1736, 1738, and 1739, in all tampering with, and virtually explaining away, the tenets of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as taught by the Fathers, Liturgies, and most eminent Anglican Divines.

[n] Life of Waterland, p. 144. Notwithstanding Clarke's work, an Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Herring) was an admirer of

than his equal in Dr. Hawarden, a Roman Catholic Priest, in a conference which took place between them in the presence of Queen Caroline, Dr. Courayer, and others. Dr. Hawarden asked him, "Can God the Father annihilate the Son and the Holy Ghost? Answer me, Yes or No." Dr. Clarke continued some time in deep thought, and then answered that "It was a question which he had never considered [o]."

And yet these Arian teachers, unorthodox as they certainly were on some vital points, not unfrequently by their lives set an example to many of their more orthodox brethren. We have seen how that Whiston was bold, although she allowed him a pension of £50 a year, in telling Queen Caroline her faults. Whiston was strongly opposed to what was called Arian subscription. When on one occasion Lord Justice King expressed his opinion about subscribing, that "we must not lose our usefulness for scruples," Whiston asked him, "In your Court do they use such prevarications?" "Certainly not," was the reply. "Suppose then," said Whiston, "God Almighty should be as just in the next world as my Lord Chief Justice is in this, where are we then?" Whis-

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Clarke: "I have seen," he says, "Dr. Clarke's Common Prayer-Book; I have read it; have approved the temper and wisdom of it." Dr. Waterland, the great Defender of the Faith, died a Priest; this man, who was an Arian and could thus speak of an Arian work, was made in 1747 Archbishop of Canterbury.

[o] Butler's Historical Account, &c.

ton also set himself against many of the abuses of the day. He recommended the Bishops to leave off holding *Commendams*, and heaping up riches upon themselves and families; to leave the Court and Parliament and to reside in their dioceses; until then, they might write what Pastorals they liked without doing good. And with regard to the Clergy in general, if only they would be in earnest, then "the Collinses, the Tindals, the Tolands, and the Woolstons would soon become contemptible, and the religion of our Blessed Saviour, now at so low an ebb, would soon flourish and spread itself over the world[p]."

Whiston was strict in observing the Fasts and Festivals of the Church. One of the crazes which he got into his head was with regard to the duty of half-fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays, which he gathered out of the Apostolical Constitutions, for the observance of which he thought he could urge stronger reasons than for the observance of Sunday. He denied the Roman position that "Liquidum non solvit jejunium" ("Drink does not break the fast"), even when recommended by physicians, so that Dr. Halley, the astronomer, said respecting him that "he feared he had a Pope in his belly[q]."

It is also right to mention traits in the life of Dr. Clarke which are much in his favour. Though lax with respect to the Trinity, he was a firm op-

[p] Life of Clarke, p. 113.

[q] Bartlett's Mem. of Bp. Butler, p. 20.

ponent to the Deists; his conscience certainly allowed him to go a long way, but no earthly gain could tempt him to go beyond what he thought right. In 1727 he was, on the death of Sir Isaac Newton, offered the Mastership of the Mint with a salary of from £1,200 to £1,500 a year, but refused it on the ground that he could not reconcile to his conscience the acceptance of a secular appointment by a Clergyman[r]; and there is no doubt from his intimacy with Walpole and the Queen that he was offered (probably on more than one occasion) and refused a Bishopric on account of his objection to subscription.

From Whiston and Clarke we must now pass on to a higher rank of heretics, to Bishops, and even Archbishops. Thomas Rundle (1686—1743), educated at Exeter College, made the acquaintance at Oxford of Edward Talbot, of Oriel College, by whom he was introduced to his father, the Bishop of Oxford. In 1712 Rundle became acquainted with Whiston, whose views on primitive Christianity he imbibed. Dr. Talbot, when in 1715 he was translated to Salisbury, became the firm friend and patron of Rundle, and made him Archdeacon of Salisbury, and his domestic chaplain. Again, when Dr. Talbot was translated in 1721 to Durham, he the same year

[r] Whiston said that this conduct of Clarke would have more influence with the infidels than the most plausible sermons and writings.

collated him to a stall, and in the next year to a Prebend, in that Cathedral. Bishop Talbot died in 1730, having, however, first recommended Rundle to his son, Lord Chancellor Talbot, who proposed him for the vacant See of Gloucester. Rundle was, like Whiston and Clarke, an Arian, and his unsound views with regard to the Trinity rendered his appointment to that See highly distasteful to the Bishops and Clergy. Gibson, Bishop of London, who during the long illness of Wake would be called upon to consecrate him, refused to do so if he were appointed. Sir Robert Walpole represented the difficulty of the case to the Lord Chancellor; the Lord Chancellor was furious against Gibson; he said he would incur a *Præmunire*, and that if he would not consecrate, other Bishops would. To the former objection Walpole answered, No; that it was the duty of the Archbishop to consecrate, and that no person could be obliged to act through a delegated power, and that he would rather, if the Chancellor insisted, advise the King not to fill up the See. The end of it all was that a sop was thrown to the Chancellor, and two of his father's chaplains, Drs. Benson and Secker, were appointed, the former to the See of Gloucester, the latter to Bristol, whilst Rundle was marked out for one of those refuges of the destitute in the eighteenth century, an Irish See, and the lucrative See of Derry was in that same year conferred upon him.

Robert Clayton (1695—1758), educated at Westminster School under the tuition of Zachary Pearce, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and at Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became a Fellow, was the son of a Dean of Kildare; he imbibed the Arian principles of Clarke, but though opposed to the doctrines, he was not unwilling "to accept the dignities," of the Church. Through Clarke, whose acquaintance he made in London, he was introduced to the great patroness of heretics, Queen Caroline, and through her interest he was, in 1730, advanced to the Bishopric of Killala; in 1735 he was translated to the See of Cork, and in 1745 to Clogher. To omit several of his previous works, he published in 1751 the "Essay on Spirit," a work which was really written by a young Clergyman in his diocese who had not the courage to print it; it was, however, fathered by Clayton; the object of the work was to establish the inferiority of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and to prepare the way for corresponding alterations in the Prayer-Book. Of this Essay Warburton wrote in 1751 to Hurd: "The Bishop of Clogher, or some such heathenish name in Ireland, has just published a book. It is made up of the rubbish of the heresies, of a much ranker cast than common Arianism. Jesus Christ is Michael; and the Holy Ghost Gabriel, &c. This might be heresy in an English Bishop, but in an Irish, it is only a blunder."

Clayton's object in the "Essay on Spirits" was not only to recommend Arianism, but to have the Prayer-Book altered, and in 1756 he moved in the Irish House of Lords the expungement of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. In consequence of this work the Irish Bishops determined to institute proceedings against him, and Clayton consulted an eminent lawyer as to whether he would lose his bishopric. "My Lord," said the lawyer, "I think you will." "Sir," he replied, "you have given me a stroke which I shall never get the better of." A day was appointed for a general meeting of the Irish prelates; a censure was certain; but on the very day appointed the Bishop was seized with a nervous fever, and died on February 26, 1758.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, a period when a government hostile to the Church looked out for respectable mediocrities to fill its highest stations, two Archbishops, Dr. Herring and Dr. Hutton, both of them translated from Bangor and York, who were remarkable for nothing except their Latitudinarianism, and of whom one certainly, if not both, favoured Arianism, occupied the Metropolitan See. Of Matthew Hutton, who was Archbishop of Canterbury for less than a year (1757-8), little need be said except that he was the patron of the noto-

[s] Notwithstanding this work, he was the next year recommended by the Duke of Dorset, Viceroy of Ireland, for the Archbishopric of Tuam.

rious Blackburne, whom he promoted to the Archdeaconry of Cleveland as a reward for writing a book against the Church [t].

We have seen already in this chapter in what commendatory language Archbishop Herring spoke of the Common Prayer-Book of the Arian, Clarke, He was equally favourable to the "Plain Account of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," written by Hoadly. What kind of a book Hoadly would write on such a subject we can easily imagine; everybody else condemned it, but Dr. Herring said of it, "I see no reason for such a prodigious outcry upon the 'Plain Account,' I really think it is a good book, and as to the Sacrament in particular, *as orthodox as Archbishop Tillotson.*"

Dr. Herring, when he became Archbishop of Canterbury, in order to please the Dissenters, not only favoured Comprehension, but also alterations in the Prayer-Book, in the Articles, and probably the omission of the Athanasian Creed. At a meeting between Sherlock, Bishop of London, Gooch, Bishop of Ely, and the Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Samuel Chandler, the conversation turned upon the Comprehension of Dissenters. Bishop Sherlock suggested that as to Discipline and Ceremonies there might be no difficulty, but he asked Mr. Chandler what objections he had to the *doctrine* of the Church. "Your Arti-

[t] "An Apology for the Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England," 1749.

cles, my Lord," he answered, "must be expressed in Scripture terms, and the Athanasian Creed must be discarded." The Bishops, as the report says, saw no objection on these grounds. Next came the question of Re-ordination. "None of us," remarked Chandler, "would renounce his Presbyterian ordination, but if your Lordship means only to impose your hands upon us, and by that rite recommend us to public service in your society or constitution, that perhaps might be submitted to."

At this point of the conversation the two Bishops proposed that the Archbishop should be admitted into their confidence. The Archbishop was accordingly interviewed, and said Comprehension would be "a very good thing, he wished it with all his heart, and the rather because this was a time which called upon all good men to unite against infidelity and immorality, which threatened universal ruin." Chandler then said he wished the Articles to be expressed in Scripture words. "Why not?" said his Grace, "It is the impertinences of men thrusting their own words into Articles instead of the Words of God which have occasioned much of the divisions in the Christian Church from the beginning to this day." He added that the Bench of Bishops was of his mind, and that "he should be glad to see Mr. Chandler again, but was then obliged to go to Court." The Bishops, however, seem to have been more liberal than the Dissenters were inclined to be; the latter exhibited

no eagerness for a Comprehension, and were "angry with Chandler for his conduct in this affair[w]." If such was the fidelity of her Bishops, we need not be surprised that Bishop Butler, in 1747, refused the Primacy because the Church was beyond remedy.

By the middle of the century the poison of Latitudinarianism had spread itself widely throughout the country. Whilst one class of people was advocating "Arian Subscription," that is to say, a forced and unnatural meaning of the Church's formularies, another party went still further, such as Wasse, Rector of Aynhoe, and Dr. Chambers, Rector of Achurch, who, like Clarke, thought fit to change the words of the Prayer-Book to suit their own views. But in this course there was danger to be apprehended from the Bishops, so a new movement arose, and an attempt was made to obtain Parliamentary authority for altering the formularies of the Church.

In 1749 Mr. Jones, Vicar of Alconbury, published anonymously a work entitled "Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England," in which he attacked many points in the faith and worship of the Church, and advocated a trenchant review, with alterations, in the Church Services and Ritual to meet the views of the Latitudinarians[x]. In this work, Mr. Francis Blackburne (1705—1787)

[w] Wilson's Dissenting Churches, ii. 354.

[x] John Jones, born 1700, was killed by a fall from his horse, but in what year does not appear.

was supposed to have had a hand; this, however, Blackburne denied, indeed the work was too lenient to the Church of England, and did not go far enough to please him[7]; but the book had important consequences, for amongst other apologists it was eagerly defended by Blackburne, who published the same year "An Apology for the Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England[8]." In 1750 Bishop Butler was translated from Bristol to Durham, and soon afterwards delivered his famous Charge to the Clergy of his new diocese (to which attention has been already called), in which he recommended the importance of *external* religion, such as the repair and adornment of their churches, more frequent services, and private and family prayer. It is strange that such a moderate Charge should have excited the anger even of the Latitudinarian Clergy. Blackburne, even at Cambridge[9], is said to have eagerly drunk in the opinions of Locke and Hoadly, and although at the time he was ordained Socinian doctrines led many to leave the Church, and he sympathised with the seceders, he had not the

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[7] Blackburne thought it "too milky."—National Biog., Art. "Blackburne."

[8] It was for this work, in which he went much further than Jones, that he was, in 1750, appointed by Archbishop Hutton Archdeacon of Cleveland, and a few months later Prebendary of Bilton in York Cathedral.

[9] Where he graduated at St. Catharine's Hall.

honesty to follow their example. In order to obtain his Archdeaconry he was called upon to sign the XXXIX. Articles, and his scruples were removed through reading Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, and some arguments in MS. by Dr. Edmund Law." The year after he became an Archdeacon, he took advantage of his position to attack, although anonymously, Bishop Butler's Charge in a tract entitled a "Serious Enquiry into the use and importance of External Religion." Bishop Butler had said in his Charge that "in Roman Catholic countries people cannot pass a day without having religion recalled to their thoughts by some or other memorial of it; by some ceremony or religious form occurring in their way, besides their frequent holidays, the short prayers they are daily called to, and the occasional devotions enjoined by confessors." This the Archdeacon stated would give occasion of triumph to Papists, and cause grief to Protestants, and the consequence must be a belief that the Romish religion is better than the religion of those who do not observe these occurrences.

In a sermon preached on Christmas-day, 1753, Blackburne declared his objections to the Book of Common Prayer, to the observance of that day and the other Festivals of the Church, and stated that many other things in the doctrine and discipline of the Church were grievous to him. It would be thought that if he held such objections, an honest

man would have resigned his Archdeaconry and Living; but not so Blackburne; he had, he said, "a wife and family;" his doubts went on increasing; instigated by Dr. Law, he organised a systematic movement against Clerical subscription, and in 1766 published anonymously his "Confessional[b]." In this work he advocated the maxim of Chillingworth, "The Bible, and the Bible only, the Religion of Protestants;" and propounded the principle that "all imposed subscriptions to Articles of Faith and Religious Doctrines, conceived in non-scriptural terms, and enforced by human authority, are utterly unwarrantable." The indignation of the Clergy, particularly of Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was extreme. Dr. Keene, Bishop of Chester, recommended that if the work were not Blackburne's, he should disclaim it; but Law, soon to be raised to the Episcopate, and Blackburne's staunch friend, wrote strongly in its favour. A controversy ensued, in which between seventy and eighty pamphlets were published, and which lasted from 1766 to 1772[c]. In the latter year it was renewed with increased vigour, and carried into Parliament in consequence

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[b] "Or, a full and free enquiry into the right, utility, and success of establishing Confessions of Faith and Doctrine in Protestant Churches."

[c] In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1780 will be found a list of the writers in the controversy.

of what is known as "The Feathers Tavern Petition."

Amongst the favourers of Socinianism were Theophilus Lindsey, who had married the daughter of Blackburne's wife by a former husband; Dr. Disney, who had married his eldest daughter; Jebb, who was a Tutor at Cambridge; Chambers, the father-in-law of Edmund Law; and, as has been stated above, Law himself, and to a certain extent Bishop Lowth. In 1771, a society called the Feathers Tavern Association was formed; in that year a meeting was held at the Feathers Tavern, when a Petition to Parliament was drawn up by Blackburne, praying to be relieved from the burden of subscription, and to be restored to their undoubted rights as Protestants, of interpreting Scripture for themselves without being bound by any human explanation thereof[d]. Lindsey travelled two thousand miles over the country, with the view of getting subscribers to it, but the result was that he could obtain only some two hundred signatures from Latitudinarian and Socinian Clergy[e],

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[d] The University of Oxford was strongly opposed to, whilst Cambridge favoured, the Petition. Dr. Watson, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, wrote in favour of it (Anecdotes of the Life of Bishop Watson, i. 70); Paley concurred in it, but refused to sign on the ground that he "could not afford to keep a conscience."

[e] The whole number of the Clergy was computed at 20,000. —Adolphus's History of England, i. 506.

and about forty from students of civil law and physic[f]. How a man can make a better doctor by signing the XXXIX. Articles it is difficult to understand; but it is equally difficult to see what hardship there can be in a Clergyman being bound to be faithful to the Church, the endowments of which he receives. The Methodists, we are told[g], were to a man opposed to the scheme. The Countess of Huntingdon showed an uncompromising hostility to it, and went about canvassing the Methodists, from the highest to the lowest, against it; she enlisted on her side the sympathies of Burke, and a measure in those days which advocated a measure of reform stood a bad chance when opposed by Burke[h]; the King pronounced against tampering with the Articles on the ground that "all wise nations have stuck scrupulously to their ancient customs."

The motion to present the Petition was made in the House of Commons on February 6, 1772, by Sir William Meredith. He complained of the hardship of people being "obliged to" subscribe Articles which they could not believe, as calculated to produce

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[f] Lindsey complained of being deceived in the matter. He is said to have lived to see four Clergymen who had encouraged him, and afterwards turned back, raised to the Episcopate; Porteus, afterwards Bishop of Chester and London, was one of them, and him he stigmatized as Bishop *Proteus*.

[g] Belsham's Memoirs of Lindsey.

[h] Trevelyan's Life of C. J. Fox, p. 438.

prevarication and licentiousness. It was asked by one member as against Meredith, "What must be thought of ecclesiastics who, having scrambled through thorns and briars for the sake of the grapes, were afterwards intent on destroying the hedges and leaving the vineyard defenceless?" "Would you," said another, "pay a hired labourer his wages if, instead of doing a piece of work according to order, he adopted a plan of his own, perfectly inconsistent with your ideas?" Sir Roger Newdigate, Member for the University of Oxford, complained of the Clergymen who, after they had subscribed the XXXIX. Articles, could sign such a petition. He deprecated the measure as injurious to the Church; he denied the power of the House of Commons to receive the petition, which he said was a breach of the Articles of Union between England and Scotland, or to dispense with the oaths; the King himself, he said, was bound by oath never to admit any alteration in the Liturgy or Articles. But the speech of Burke, perfect as a piece of oratory, and useful now as then, was fatal to the petition, and deserves to be quoted at some length. "If," he said, "you make this a season for religious alterations, depend upon it you will soon find it a season of religious tumults and wars." He asked what the hardship complained of was. "They want to be preferred in the Church of England as by law established, but their consciences will not allow them to conform to the doctrines and practices of that

Church: that is, they want to be teachers in a Church to which they do not belong. This is an odd sort of hardship. They want to receive the emoluments appropriated for teaching 'one set of doctrines whilst they are teaching another.' . . . The Laws of Toleration provide for every real grievance; if they do not like the Establishment, there are a hundred different modes of dissent in which they may teach. But how do you ease and relieve them? How do you know that in making a door into the Church for these gentlemen, you do not drive ten times their number out of it? Alter your Liturgy, will it please all, even of those who wish for an alteration, or those who wish for none at all?" "And," he asked, "what are we to understand by Holy Scripture? The subscription to Scripture is the most arbitrary idea that I ever heard, and will amount to just nothing at all. . . . The Bible is a vast collection of different treatises. A man who holds the divine authority of one may consider the others as merely human. What is his Canon? The Jewish? St. Jerome's? That of the XXXIX. Articles? Luther's? There are some who reject the Canticles; others, six of the Epistles. The Book of Revelation has been a source of contention among Divines. Will these gentlemen exclude the Book of Esdras? Will they include the Song of Songs? As some narrow the Canon, others have enlarged it by admitting St. Barnabas' Epistle and the Apostolic Constitutions; to say nothing of

many other Gospels. To ascertain Scripture, you must have one Article more, in order to define what Scripture is that you mean to teach." When the question was put to the House whether or not the Petition should be received, it was rejected by 217 to 71 votes, and thus the long threatened danger to the Church was removed[i]. A wish, however, having been expressed in the debate that some relief should be granted to students at the time of matriculation at the Universities, the University of Cambridge relieved all candidates for matriculation from subscription to the XXXIX. Articles, the declaration being substituted for it, "I do declare that I am *bona fide* a member of the Church of England as by law established[k]."

The sequel of the story is not a creditable one, whatever way we look at it. The honesty of Lindsey in resigning his Living has been praised. The circumstances of his case are these. He had formerly

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[i] In the following year it was rejected by 159 to 76.

[k] In connection with this Petition Lord Huntingdon, the son of the famous Countess, himself becoming rapidly more than a Latitudinarian, saw the weak point in Lindsey's position, and asked him, "What became of the Universe when its Creator hung lifeless on a tree in Judea?" "I am not concerned," replied Lindsey, "to answer that question, the foundation on which it rests not forming any part of my Creed." "But," said the Earl, "the belief of it forms a part of the Creed in which you weekly officiate as Minister."—Trevelyan, C. J. Fox, p. 438, n.

been a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. He exchanged a Living in Dorsetshire for the valuable Living of Catterick in Yorkshire, to obtain which he had to subscribe the formularies of the Church of England. He soon became, we are told, perplexed with doubts and difficulties; he had signed formularies which he considered unlawful; he was in a strait between two. What was he to do? The answer of every honest mind is plain—resign his Living; but that was the very thing he was reluctant to do[1]. So he unbosomed himself to Dr. Priestley, the famous natural philosopher, at that time a Dissenting minister at Leeds. One wonders why he did not consult his Bishop or some priest in his own Church rather than a Dissenting minister. "He soon discovered to me," says Priestley, "that he was uneasy in his situation and had thoughts of quitting it. At first I was not forward to encourage him in it, but advised him to make what alterations he thought proper in the offices of the Church, and leave it to his superiors to dismiss him." In this state of dishonest doubt Lindsey continued for ten years, till a dangerous attack of illness aroused his conscience; he then avowed himself a Unitarian

[1] Even his Socinian biographer, Belsham, admits, "It may appear singular that Mr. Lindsey could submit to that renewed subscription which was requisite in order to his induction to a new Living."—Belsham's Memoirs, p. 17.

OBART HALL, AT ...IV. OF MICH.

and resigned his Living [m]. Still, Lindsey did ultimately make a sacrifice to the voice of conscience. Jebb and Disney likewise became confessors to their cause; Chambers, by connivance of his Ordinary, long continued a Nonconformist in the Church. But what are we to say of the two dignitaries, Blackburne and Law? Blackburne would not resign his preferments for the reason already stated; he had a wife and children. Law was appointed Bishop of Carlisle in 1769, and died in 1787, an Arian [n]. Must we not agree that, except in a few instances, "the converts to Socinianism have stooped to the meanest prevarications and the most sacrilegious hypocrisy, rather than sacrifice their worldly emoluments and honours [o]?"

At the close of the year in which the Feathers Tavern Petition was presented to Parliament an attempt was made by some of the Clergy to promote alterations in the Liturgy and Articles, so as to render subscription easier. The plan was supported

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[m] "It is strange," writes Mr. Robert Hall in his Review of Belsham's Memoirs of Lindsey, "that such a cause, after a system of prevarications persisted in for upwards of ten years, should be extolled in terms which can only be applied with propriety to instances of heroic virtue."

[n] This Prelate asserted that he would not defer to the Church's interpretation of Scripture, but would adhere to the Bible and the Bible only, as interpreted by private judgment. —Hook's Biog. Dict.

[o] Works of Robert Hall, M.A., vol. iv. p. 208.

by Mr. Wollaston, Rector of Chislehurst, Dr. Percy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, Dr. York, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Porteus, appointed in 1777 Bishop of Chester, in 1787 of London. To quote Dr. Porteus' own words[p]: "This plan was not in the smallest degree connected with the Petitioners at the Feathers Tavern, but on the contrary was meant to counteract that and all similar extravagant projects; to strengthen and confirm our ecclesiastical establishment; to repel the attacks which were at that time continually made upon it by its avowed enemies; to render the Seventeenth Article on Predestination and Election more clear and perspicuous, and less liable to be wrested by our adversaries to a Calvinistic sense, which has been so unjustly affixed to it; . . . to diminish schism by bringing over to the National Church all the moderate and well-disposed of other persuasions." These Clergymen applied for his opinion to Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was at first inclined to look favourably upon their cause, but promised to consult the Bishops; on Feb. 11, 1773, he gave an adverse decision: "I have consulted severally my brethren the Bishops, and it is the opinion of the Bench in general, that nothing can in prudence be done in the matter that has been submitted to our consideration;" and so it fell to the ground.

[p] Porteus' Life, by Hodgson, i. 39.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE METHODISTS.

THE most important event in the religious life of the eighteenth century was the rise and progress of Methodism. At the time when the Deistical Controversy was at its height; when the intellect of the Church was diverted in attacking the strongholds of infidelity; when a gross licentiousness was corrupting the morals of the nation; when Bishops were absent from their Dioceses, and a shameful system of pluralities existed amongst all ranks of the Clergy; when a dry morality, instead of heart-stirring truths, formed the staple of the sermons of the day; John Wesley came, not to form a new Church, but to effect a revival in the Church of England, on the rules and principles of Catholic antiquity.

Nothing was further from Wesley's mind than to create a schism. His one object from first to last was to give an impulse to the dormant zeal of the Church; and to infuse life into a body where life was wanting. He lived at a time when the population was increasing with a rapidity till then unknown; when people were crowding from villages into towns, from towns into cities, and had neither

churches to go to, nor Clergy to minister to them; and he thought to supply a need by establishing a "religious order," a "home-mission," within the Church, to evangelise its neglected masses.

When he looked around for something to guide him in his scheme, he found it ready to his hand in the work which had been effected in Germany by Philip Jacob Spener, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and about the same time by the "Religious Societies" and the "Societies for the Reformation of Manners" in England[a]. So that Wesley's scheme was no new thing in England; to him it descended as an heirloom, for these societies had been warmly espoused by his father; Methodism, in fact, was nothing else than the rise of one more of the many "Religious Societies." In the early stage of the movement he was content to leave the good work done by his ministry ("precisely as our Church of England Mission-Priests do") to the care of the parochial clergy[b]. And so at first the movement met with no disapproval from the Bishops or the Clergy; but, as all religious revivals have a tendency to enthusiasm and a neglect of the Church's system

[a] Spener, in 1670, founded "Societies" at Frankfort, which he termed "Collegia Pietatis" (whence the word "Pietism"), with the object of counteracting the profligacy which had been rife in Germany since the Thirty Years' War (1618—1648), and to promote vital Religion.

[b] Watson's Life of Wesley.

and discipline, so, owing partly to circumstances over which he had no control, partly to Wesley's own conduct, and partly to the action of the Clergy, Methodism drifted away, first into extravagance, and eventually into separation.

The family of the Wesleys was a remarkable one both before and since the time of John Wesley[c]. The father, Samuel Wesley (1662—1735), was originally a Dissenter, and by becoming a Churchman he offended his family, who consequently withdrew from him all support, and left him to struggle on as best he could in poverty. Nothing daunted, he walked to Oxford, and entered himself as a "poor scholar" at Exeter College, beginning, with only £2 16*s.* in his pocket, and no prospect of any further supply, his University career. By doing their exercises for those undergraduates who had more money than brains, by giving private lessons, and by dint of the greatest frugality, he not only contrived to support himself, but to take his degree. After this, and having saved £10 15*s.*, he went to London and was ordained, and after holding a London curacy with a stipend of £45 a year, he became in 1691 Rector of

[c] A gentleman of large fortune in Ireland, of the same name, offered to make Charles Wesley his heir. Charles, however, refused, and the person who consented, and who in consequence assumed the name of Wesley or Wellesley, was the first Earl of Mornington, grandfather to the great Duke of Wellington.—Southey's Life of Wesley, p. 30.

South Ormsby, in Lincolnshire. Through means of a book which he wrote on the English Revolution, and which he dedicated to Queen Mary II., he so gained her favour that he was rewarded with the Living of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, and it was supposed that if the Queen had lived he would have received further preferment; with the Living of Epworth he afterwards held that of Wroth, in the same county. He rose to be a man of considerable reputation, and was Proctor in Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln, in which capacity it is probable he bore a part in the controversies between the two Houses.

A man of good family himself, he married Susanna Annesley (1669—1742), a relative of the Earl of Anglesey, and a daughter of Dr. Annesley, who had been ejected on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, from the Living of St. Giles', Cripplegate. Though a Nonconformist by birth, she became at the age of thirteen a staunch Churchwoman; nineteen children (of whom only three sons and three daughters grew to maturity) were the fruit of this union; and it was the mother who chiefly superintended the education of the family, and who impressed her character on her three sons. The father, burdened as he was through the alienation of his friends, and crippled with the expenses of a large family, always had to struggle on with poverty; being too conscientious to suit their taste, he incurred the abiding wrath of his

unruly parishioners, and having suffered great loss through the destruction by fire of his house at Epworth (not without suspicion of treachery from the wild fenmen in his parish), he was committed for a time to Lincoln gaol[d].

The three sons received their education at public schools, and at Christ Church, Oxford. Samuel, the eldest (1692—1739), was educated at Westminster, and became a Student of Christ Church[e]; John, the second (1703—1791), who was eleven years younger than Samuel, went to the Charterhouse, whence he proceeded, when he was seventeen years of age, to Christ Church, Oxford. Here we are told his favourite studies were the *De Imitatione Christi*, Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," and above all Law's "Serious Call[f]," (to which book he attributed the revival which bore his name). Having been ordained Deacon by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, he

[d] From this fire John Wesley was, just before the roof fell in, almost miraculously rescued.

[e] He was for nearly twenty years Under Master at Westminster, and became Head Master of Blundell's School, Tiverton. He was a High Churchman, and was said to be a Jacobite; but John Wesley said, "he was no more a Jacobite than he was a Turk."

[f] John Wesley became personally acquainted with William Law about 1729, when the latter was a tutor in the family of Gibbon the Historian. To the "Serious Call" Dr. Johnson attributes his first religious impressions, and even Gibbon admitted that "if it found a spark of piety in the reader's mind, it would soon kindle it to a flame."

was in 1726 elected a Fellow of Lincoln College[g], not, however, without some opposition on account of the seriousness of life which had produced much banter and ridicule in the University.

Charles Wesley (1708—1788) was, in 1721, elected on the foundation at Westminster, and in 1726, shortly after his brother John had gained his Fellowship, proceeded on a Westminster Studentship to Christ Church, Oxford, and in due course of time received Holy Orders.

We must now give some account of another person who bore a part in the Methodist movement, second only to that of John Wesley. George Whitfield (1714—1770) was born at the Bell Inn, Gloucester, of which his father was landlord; but the management of which, when George was only two years old, devolved upon his mother. His mother kept him as much as possible from the business of the tavern, but he tells us himself he "was froward from his mother's womb;" he was frequently exposed, and not unfrequently succumbed, to temptation, and in his early years a curious conflict of good and evil seemed to wrestle for the formation of his character. He emptied his mother's till, but it was in order to give money to the poor; he stole his mother's books, but they were books of devotion.

[g] This was a great joy to his father in his poverty: "I can bear any other disappointment," he said, "for Jack is Fellow of Lincoln."

He tells us that in his early years he was "addicted to lying, filthy talking, and foolish jesting;" "a Sabbath-breaker, a theatre-goer, a card-player, and a romance-reader." He was sent to the grammar-school of St. Mary-le-Crypt, Gloucester, where his chief delight was the study of the dramatic writers, composing plays, and representing characters (in which he greatly excelled); and soon wearying of his school studies, he returned to his mother's tavern, where, he says, "I put on my blue apron and my snuffers [h], washed mops, cleansed rooms, and in one word became professed and common drawer for nigh a year and a half;" finding, however, time for reading Ken's "Manual for Winchester Scholars," and the *De Imitatione Christi.*

After he had been a year in this servile occupation, his mother, who had contracted a second marriage, made over the Bell Inn to her married son, and George, not agreeing with his sister-in-law, left the inn and took up his residence with his mother. She was very poor, and in great straits to know what to do with him, when a Servitor of Pembroke College, Oxford, chanced to call upon her, told her what his College expenses were, and how, after they were all paid, he remained in possession of one penny. To Oxford George was sent at the age of eighteen,

[h] Probably "scoggers," as the sleeves worn by domestics are called in some parts of England.—Southey's Life of Wesley, p. 23.

and ten pounds for his entrance expenses being found by a friend, he was, in 1732, admitted as a *Servitor* at Pembroke, just a year after Samuel Johnson was forced by poverty to leave the same College.

At Oxford George Whitfield practised great self-denial and mortification. He would walk in Christ Church Meadows on a stormy night, prostrate himself on the ground, fast during Lent; "he would expose himself to the cold till his hands began to blacken, and so emaciated his body through abstinence as to scarcely be able to creep upstairs to his rooms," and for seven weeks he laboured under a dangerous illness.

We have now before us the three principal agents in that Methodist movement which forms so prominent a feature in the eighteenth century. It is, however, with John Wesley and Wesleyan Methodism that we are chiefly concerned, and we shall content ourselves in this chapter by giving such a general outline of the movement, as shall exhibit John Wesley in his real character—from first to last a staunch, if a somewhat inconsistent, Churchman, who meant the Society which bears his name to be not antagonistic, but ancillary, to the Church of England[1].

Soon after his Ordination, John Wesley became

[1] So many lives of John Wesley, and so many accounts of the Methodist movement have been written, and are easily accessible to the public, that it is not thought necessary to describe the minute details of its organization.

his father's Curate at Wroth for two years, and it was during this time that his brother Charles gathered together a small society of like-minded men with himself, at first for the study of the Classics, but soon afterwards for the purpose of religious improvement, for prayer and religious study, especially that of the Greek Testament. This little society consisted of himself, Morgan of Christ Church [k], and Kirkham of Merton, to whom were afterwards added Hervey of Lincoln [l], Gambold, a Servitor of Christ Church [m], Clayton, a Hulme Exhibitioner of Brasenose [n], Whitfield of Pembroke, and several others. They bound themselves (after the manner of the earlier Religious Societies) to live by rule; to abstain from the prevalent amusements and luxuries of the University; to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays, and throughout Lent; to receive the Holy Eucharist every week at St. Mary's; and to visit the prisoners in the gaol and the poor in the workhouse. The greatest prudence in such an age, when laxity of opinions and infidelity so widely prevailed, could hardly fail to draw towards them the attention and ridicule of the University. They were what in

[k] He died in 1732.

[l] Author of "Theron and Aspasio."

[m] Presented in 1739 by Dr. Secker, Bishop of Oxford, to the Living of Stanton Harcourt; in 1742 he joined the Moravians, and in 1754 became a Moravian "Bishop."

[n] Afterwards a zealous High Churchman.

the present day would be called Ritualists. The men of wit in Christ Church called them *Sacramentarians;* the Merton men styled them the "Holy Club;" others stigmatized them as the "Godly Club;" other as "the Enthusiasts[o];" but the general term applied to them, which survived all others, was "Methodists[p]."

Nor was it only ridicule that they had to suffer. Whitfield writes: "I daily underwent some contempt from the Collegians. Some have thrown dirt at me; and others took away my pay from me." The Master of Pembroke threatened to expel him if he continued to visit the poor.

Charles Wesley, then, was really the Founder of Methodism. But when in 1727 John Wesley, on being made Tutor of his College, returned to Oxford, the little community, at that time numbering about fifteen, willingly accepted him on account of his age, his character, his learning, his position in the University, as their leader[q]; and thenceforward he became the life and guiding spirit of the movement.

In 1735 Samuel Wesley, the father, died, and

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[o] Tyerman, Life of Wesley, p. 9.

[p] The word was familiar at Epworth; "the true founder of Methodism was Mrs. Wesley."—Wedgwood's Life of Wesley, p. 48.

[q] Just as the later Oxford movement, to which this early movement bears a strong resemblance, for similar reasons accepted the leadership of Dr. Pusey.

John received the offer of succeeding him at Epworth. But he never once seems to have doubted as to his vocation for mission-work, or to have contemplated settling down in one parish; at a later period of the movement, in a conversation with the Bishop of Bristol, he alluded to his fellowship as affording him a sufficient maintenance, without his being under the necessity of accepting a living. He therefore refused Epworth. In the same year, at the suggestion of Dr. Burton, President of Corpus, who was one of the trustees for Georgia, and William Law, he accepted the appointment as missionary, under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in that, the latest founded of the American Colonies, which owed its origin, only two years before, to the philanthropic energy of General Oglethorpe.

Accordingly on October 14, 1735, he—in company with his brother Charles (who went as secretary to Oglethorpe), Mr. Delamotte, a London merchant, and Ingham, who had been one of the little community at Oxford—left England for Georgia, with the double object of ministering to the new settlement, and of evangelizing the neighbouring tribes of Red Indians; to use his own words, "to save souls; to live wholly to the glory of God."

On board ship he made the acquaintance, and was much impressed with the piety, of some Moravians [r],

[r] A small body of Moravians, or "United Brethren" (*Unitas Fratrum*) ten in number, under Christian David, a Roman

going out to join a party of their brethren from Herrnhut, who, under sanction of the British government and the approbation of the English Church, had sailed for Georgia in the preceding year. The colonists of Georgia belonged to many nationalities, and spoke different languages; Wesley worked hard amongst them, and it is not a little to his credit and proof of his ability, that in a short time, in addition to the English services, he was able to conduct also services in French, German, and Italian. But his mission was a lamentable failure; John Wesley was never a very amiable man, and at this period of his life he certainly was not a discreet man. He tried to revive the ritual and discipline of the Church in a way for which the colonists were not ripe. He divided the Church services; this, however, alone would probably not have caused much disaffection. But he insisted also on Baptism by immersion; on rebaptizing those who had been baptized by Dissenters; and he refused to read the Burial Service over a Dissenter. He was hard and domineering; he was accused of prying into the secrets of every family; all the quarrels which took place in the colony were attributed to his intermeddling; at last a not very creditable law-suit, in which he was the

Catholic of Moravia, first settled in Herrnhut in 1822. Their doctrine was a kind of Pietistic Lutheranism, uniting Lutheran Solifidianism with certain Quietist tenets, and their own addition of convulsive and instantaneous conversion.

defendant, made the place too hot for him; so that after having remained there little more than a year and three months, he left the colony, (his brother Charles, who was equally unpopular, having left before him), shaking off the dust from his feet, and he reached England a few days after Whitfield had left England for Georgia.

Whitfield having taken his degree at Oxford, returned to Gloucester, and although he was only twenty-one years of age, Dr. Benson, the Bishop of the Diocese, who had formed a very high opinion of him, broke through the ordinary rule, and ordained him a Deacon in 1736. Whitfield preached his first sermon in the Church of St. Mary-le-Crypt, Gloucester, in which church he says he "was baptized, and first received the Lord's Supper." He gives us an account of his first sermon: "My heart was enlarged, and on the Sunday morning I preached to a very crowded audience with as much freedom as if I had been a preacher for some years. . . . Some few mocked, but most for the present seemed struck, and I have heard since that a complaint had been made to the Bishop, that I drove fifteen mad by the first sermon. The worthy Prelate, as I am informed, wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday." In 1737 he began to preach in London, and it was then that he received a letter from John Wesley asking him to go to Georgia. Upon reading the letter, his heart, he said, leaped

with joy, and reechoed, as it were, to the call; Bishop Benson approved of the plan, and after preaching to immense congregations at Bristol, where the churches were as full on week-days as they used to be before on Sunday, he set sail on December 23, 1737, but being detained by contrary winds in the Downs, it was not till the end of January that he actually left England, and arrived at Savannah on May 7, 1738.

He remained only a few months at Savannah, but, although he discharged his duties with equal earnestness, he met with none of the vexations that had embittered Wesley's life in the colony. Two reasons necessitated his return to England, the one to take Priest's Orders, the other to raise contributions for an orphan home in the colony; he accordingly embarked for England in September, and after a miserable voyage arrived in England in December, and received Priest's Orders from Dr. Benson.

The unexpected success of Whitfield had excited some jealousy amongst the Clergy in England, and they were not sorry when he had left it to go to Georgia; but no sooner had Whitfield left, than John Wesley arrived in England to take up and to deepen the impression which Whitfield had made. His preaching in London was not more appreciated by the Clergy than Whitfield's had been, and after his first sermon, he was generally told that he must not preach in that church again.

But before his active missionary work began a remarkable incident in his life occurred. He writes in his Journal on February 17, 1738:—"I left my native country in order to teach the Georgian Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned myself in the meantime? Why (what I the least of all suspected) that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God." Shortly afterwards he met a "holy man" lately arrived from Germany, Peter Böhler, a Moravian minister, who for a time gained a complete ascendancy over him[s]. Böhler thought Wesley too philosophical; "Mi frater, mi frater," he exclaimed, "excoquenda est ista tua philosophia[t]." "By him, in the hands of the great God," says Wesley, "I was clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith by which alone we are saved. Immediately it struck into my mind, 'Leave off preaching; how can *you* preach to others, who have not faith yourself?'" Böhler solved the difficulty for him; "Preach faith,"

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[s] Peter Böhler's teaching was that: (1) when a man has a living faith in Christ, then he is justified; (2) this living faith is always given instantaneously; (3) at that moment he has peace with God; (4) which he cannot have without knowing that he has it; (5) and being born of God, he sinneth not; (6) he cannot have the deliverance of sin without knowing it.

[t] "My brother, my brother, that philosophy of yours must be eradicated."

he said, "till you have it; and then, because you have it, you *will* preach faith [u]."

But now a great change came over Wesley. He minutely describes the process of his conversion. In the afternoon of May 24, 1738, he went in a state of great depression to St. Paul's Cathedral. On the evening of the same day, "I went," he says, "very unwillingly to a Society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle of the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death [x]."

But previously to this, and whilst he was awaiting the change which he had been taught by Böhler to hope for, he wrote a letter full of ingratitude to William Law, a man distinguished for the saintliness of his life, and whom he had once regarded as his spiritual instructor. He complains to Law that for two years he had followed out the teaching contained in his two treatises; that he had preached the law, and that he and his hearers had felt that by the works of the law no flesh living could be

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[u] Wesley's Journal, March 4, 1738.
[x] Ibid., May, 1738.

justified; he tells him how he might have groaned to death under this yoke had not a holy man told him that he must strip himself naked of his own works and his own righteousness; had told him, "Believe, and thou shalt be saved." "Now, Sir," he says, "Suffer me to ask, How will you answer it to our common Lord that you never gave me this advice? Why did I scarcely ever hear from you the nature of Christ? never so as to ground anything upon faith in His Blood?" To this extraordinary letter, Law returned a temperate answer, but the intimacy between the two ceased.

After that meeting in Aldersgate Street it cannot be denied that, disturbed by a transient feeling, Wesley brought himself for a moment to forget his Church and his Church's teaching, and to say, "Till the last five days I have never been a Christian[y]." But his whole life, and all his writings, show that the feeling was only transient: his teaching on Baptism is clear and unmistakeable; over and over again he asserts that "by Baptism we are admitted into the Church, and consequently made members of Christ;" that water is the outward sign of our regeneration; that the outward sign duly received is always accompanied by the inward grace; that our

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y "What," said his brother Samuel, "had he never been in covenant with God? was his Baptism nothing? or had he apostatized from it?"—Curteis' Bampton Lectures, p. 362.

Church states that all who are baptized in their infancy are born again; in a word, we find him throughout his life holding what in his advanced years he asserted, "I have *uniformly gone on for fifty years, never varying from the doctrines of the Church at all*[a]."

Still, being dissatisfied with his spiritual condition, he determined to learn more of the system of the Moravians, and to visit the head quarters of Moravianism. Leaving England on June 13, he arrived on July 4 at Marienborn, where he became the guest of Count Zinzendorf, the great patron of the Moravians, of whose tenets he began to form, on nearer acquaintance, a more unfavourable opinion than he had held before. Thence he proceeded to Herrnhut, where his faith in Moravianism became more and more shaken. His soul, as he expresses it, was sick of their *sublime* divinity, and revolted against their doctrine that Sacraments and outward means of grace were of no value; he protested that a person must do something more than sit still until he finds Christ. He saw that their system and his were wholly opposed; he returned to England, and in 1740 he

[a] Curteis' Bampton Lectures, p. 363. In his old age he said, "When fifty years ago my brother Charles and I, in the simplicity of our hearts, told the good people of England that unless they *knew* their sins were forgiven, they were under the wrath and curse of God, I marvel they did not stone us. *The Methodists, I hope,* know better now."

broke from them entirely, and left the Society of Fetter Lane, where hitherto he, in common with the Moravians, had held his meetings; and soon afterwards became the minister of a registered Chapel in Moorfields. But this was not before German mysticism had left its mark upon the Methodism of the future, and he had set up a sort of English Moravianism of his own, with "bands" and "class meetings," and the model of the plan which Zinzendorf had adopted for his own Communion[a].

Meanwhile Whitfield, who was much bolder in his plans than Wesley, and unlike him never cared about Canons and Church Order, soon after he was ordained Priest, had taken to *field-preaching*. It is difficult to see, indeed, how he could have conscientiously done otherwise. Whilst the population, especially around the mining and manufacturing centres, had immensely increased, the one parish church with its large square pews had remained unaltered, and no provision was made for the new exigencies of the country. Whitfield preached, on February 17, 1739, his first open-air sermon at Rose Green, Kingswood, near Bristol (where coal mines had been lately discovered), to the rough colliers of that district; men sunk in the most brutal ignorance and vices, and entire strangers to religion, whose parish church, that of SS. Philip and James, was three or four

[a] Ibid., p. 366.

miles distant, and where they would have found no room, even if they had tried. Being sensible of the great work he was doing, he continued to preach amongst them; the congregations, which numbered at first about a hundred, swelled by degrees to as many as twenty thousand; rich and poor alike flocked to hear him; and he himself relates how he saw on the faces of the poor colliers the white gutters made by the tears which fell plentifully down their black faces—black as they came out of the coal-pits.

The Chancellor of the Diocese sent for Whitfield, and asked him by what authority he preached. Whitfield asked him in turn, "And why pray, Sir, did you not ask the Clergyman this question who preached for you last Sunday?" The Chancellor then informed him he was acting against the Canons. "There is also a Canon, Sir," said Whitfield, "forbidding all Clergymen to frequent taverns and play at cards; why is not that put into execution?" The Chancellor told him if he preached or expounded anywhere in the Diocese, he was resolved first to suspend and then to excommunicate him. With this declaration of war they parted, but the victory rested with Whitfield, for Church discipline had been so long neglected that he could brave its threats with impunity.

Whitfield now urged Wesley to come to Bristol to carry on the work which he had so successfully

begun, since he himself was preparing to return to Georgia. By the beginning of April, Wesley, who was at first unwilling, had determined to imitate Whitfield's example of open-air preaching. "I could scarcely reconcile myself," writes Wesley[b], "to this strange way of preaching in the fields . . . having been all my life, till very lately, so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church." He called to mind, however, that the Sermon on the Mount was "one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching," and on May 2, 1739, he preached his first open-air sermon.

It was at Bristol that Wesley first witnessed those physical paroxysms which formed so peculiar a feature of Methodism. Those signs of religious hysteria which often accompanied his preaching were probably attributable to the "French Prophets" or "Convulsionists[c]," who had been driven from France

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[b] Journal, March 31.

[c] There is much reason to believe that these "French Prophets" belonged to a survival of the Albigenses. The main link in the evidence is that Anne Lee, the foundress of New England Shakerism, was a disciple of the prophets, and that Shakerism reproduces exactly certain early Gnostic doctrines, which were transmitted through the Paulicians, Albigenses, and other cognate sects.

by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; many of them, finding an asylum in England shortly before 1739, professed to be guided by inspiration; they laid claims to the gift of prophecy, and encouraged these marks of "theopathic hysteria" as the birth-throes of a new life. But we will quote Wesley's own account of these outbursts of religious phenomena[d]. He was preaching from the text, "He that believeth hath everlasting life," and declared explicitly that "God willeth all men to be saved." "Immediately one, and another, and another, sunk to the earth; they dropped on every side as if thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God on her behalf, and He turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same agony, we called upon God for her also, and He spake peace unto her soul. In the evening I was again pressed in spirit to declare that 'Christ gave Himself a ransom for all,' and almost before we called upon Him to set to His seal, He answered. One was so wounded by the Sword of the Spirit, that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. But immediately His abundant kindness was showed, and she loudly sung of His Righteousness." Wesley, who was naturally of a superstitious turn of mind, was at first inclined to attribute these outward manifestations to the interposition of Providence. He examined the persons

[d] Journal, April 25, 1739.

who were so affected[e]. Some could give no account whatever, except that all of a sudden they dropped down, they knew not how, nor what they afterwards said or did. Several said they were afraid of the devil, and that was all they knew about it. "But a few gave a more intelligent account of the piercing sense they had of their sins . . . of the dread they were in of the wrath of God, and the punishment they had deserved, into which they seemed to be just falling, without any way of escape. One of them told me, I was just falling down from the highest place I had ever seen. I thought the devil was pushing me off, and that God had forsaken me." Another said, "I felt the very fire of hell kindled in my breast, and all my body was in as much pain as if I had been in a burning furnace." "What wisdom is that," he adds, "that rebuketh those that they should hold their peace." That was John Wesley's first idea; but he gradually changed his mind. In 1743 he thought it was Satan tearing his hearers as they were coming to Christ; but in 1781 he determined that it was Satan mimicking this part of the work of God, that he might discredit the whole.

Shortly after his separation from the Moravians, a quarrel (for we can call it by no milder name) on the subject of Election ensued between him and Whitfield, which led to their separation, and mate-

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[e] Journal, December 30, 1742.

rially affected the after-history of Methodism. Wesley was an Arminian, Whitfield a Calvinist. Wesley hated Calvinism, and declared that he would rather be a Turk, a Deist, or an Atheist, than a Calvinist[f]. A correspondence commenced betweeen the two on the subject of Election and Final Perseverance, Whitfield writing from America, Wesley from England. Just at this time Whitfield returned from America, and Wesley went to see him. But we will give John Wesley's own words as to the quarrel[g]: "Having heard much of Mr. Whitfield's unkind behaviour since his return from Georgia, I went to hear him speak for himself, that I might know how to judge. I much approved of his plainness of speech. He told me he and I preached two different Gospels, and therefore he would not only not join with me, or give me the right hand of fellowship, but was resolved publicly to preach against me and my brother wheresoever he preached at all." The result of this quarrel was that henceforward Methodism was split up into two parties, the Arminians and the Calvinists, the former under the guidance of John Wesley, the latter under Whitfield and the Countess of Hunting-

[f] The "Larger Minutes" of Conference which form, as it were, the Canon Law of Methodism, lay it down that "All the devices of Satan for these fifty years have done far less towards stopping the work of God than that single doctrine," i.e. Calvinism.—Curteis, p. 374.

[g] Journal, March 28, 1741.

don: the former continuing to attend the Services of the Church, and only holding their meetings out of Church hours; the latter gradually declining from the Church, and forming themselves into a sect under the name of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

It must be acknowledged that Wesley's position in the Church of England was a very difficult one. He felt that he had a work to do, and the Bishops and Clergy set themselves against his way of doing it. But he cannot be excused in taking steps which were only too likely to lead to the eventual separation of his followers from the Church of England. The fault in Wesley was, that he claimed immunity from the system of the Church, and liberty to disregard its ritual and to set at nought its discipline. In 1739, ten days after he adopted the practice of open-air preaching, Wesley laid the foundation of the first "Preaching House," without the sanction of the Clergyman of the parish or the Bishop of the diocese, in the Horse Fair, Bristol; and in the same year he opened the "Foundry," at Moorfields, London. From this time preaching-houses increased rapidly. At first only ordained Clergymen officiated in them; but soon Wesley was persuaded, against his own judgment, and chiefly by the advice of his mother, to allow laymen to officiate; and thenceforward Lay-preachers became an important element in the movement, and superseded the Clerical agents. The

Preaching-Houses soon developed into Chapels, and Lay-preachers received permission from Wesley to use the Book of Common Prayer. Before long these Lay-preachers clamoured to be allowed to use the forms for the Administration of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and thus claimed the right to exercise all the spiritual powers inherent in the Priesthood. But the last-recorded words of Wesley show the repugnance he felt to their making the Methodist Society a sect, independent of, and separated from, the Church [h].

The first Wesleyan Conference was held in London in 1744, to consider the future course of Methodism. That conference declared that the Bishops and Canons of the Church of England were to be obeyed: the question was asked, "Do we separate from the Church?" and the answer given was, "We conceive not; we hold communion therewith for conscience' sake, by constantly attending both the word preached and the Sacraments administered therein."

From this time annual Conferences were held in London, Bristol, or Leeds. Gradually the breach between the Church and Methodism was widening, and secession from the Church was broached. The question was brought before the Conference of 1755, and it was decided that "whether it was lawful or

[h] Howard's Church of England and other Religious Communions, p. 91.

not, it was not expedient to separate from the Church;" and the Lay-preachers consented "for the sake of peace to cease to administer the Sacraments."

We must now give some account of Calvinistic Methodism, and of its foundress, the celebrated Countess of Huntingdon.

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707—1791) "the noble and elect Lady," as her followers styled her, the second daughter of Washington Shirley, second Earl Ferrers, was born August 24, 1707, and in 1728 married the ninth Earl of Huntingdon, who died in 1746. Of her two sisters-in-law, one, Lady Betty Hastings, had been a patroness of the early Methodists at Oxford, whilst the other, Lady Margaret, married Ingham, Wesley's old pupil and fellow-missioner[1].

Being left, by her husband's death, mistress of a large income, the Countess thenceforward took a decided part in the Methodist movement; and on the return of Whitfield in 1748 from one of his many American journeys, she invited him to her house at Chelsea, and appointed him her Chaplain. She was a woman of unbounded charity, and is said to have spent not less than £100,000 on religious objects; she erected or possessed herself of chapels in various parts of the kingdom, appointed

[1] Southey's Life of Wesley, p. 464.

and revoked the appointment of the Clergy who officiated in them at her pleasure; she greatly objected to be considered a Dissenter; so, as long as she was able, she appointed Church of England Clergymen; and when these drew back, and the supply of regularly ordained ministers failed, she followed the plan which Wesley had sanctioned, and appointed laymen to preach, whom she called "Lady Huntingdon's Preachers." In the dress of a female she exercised all the authority of a Pope; and this is one reason why she and John Wesley (who himself liked to be a Pope) never got on together. Whitfield could thank her for her amazing condescension in patronizing him; Wesley could never condescend to this[k]; everything was Lady Huntingdon; the congregations who worshipped in her chapels were "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion;" the ministers who officiated in them were "Preachers in Lady Huntingdon's Connexion[l]." For the training of her preachers she, in 1768, set up a college (called, of course, "Lady Huntingdon's College") at Trevecca[m], over which she placed an excellent clergyman, Mr. Fletcher[n]. The terms of admission were, that the students should have been

[k] "In Lady Huntingdon," he said, "'I' mixes itself up in everything; it is *my* College, *my* masters, *my* students."

[l] Life of Lady Huntingdon, ii. 490.

[m] Removed in 1792 to Cheshunt.

[n] Known as Fletcher of Madeley: see Part III. chap. i.

converted to God, and resolved to dedicate themselves to His service; they were boarded and instructed gratuitously at her expense for three years, at the end of which time they were to enter the ministry of any denomination of Dissenters.

After the separation of Wesley and Whitfield, the latter devoted himself to the cause of Lady Huntingdon; but as he spent much of his time in America, where the Methodist movement was quite as marked as in England, they rarely came in contact with one another. At the same time, it speaks well for the character of both, that resentment never took deep root in either of them; the difference, as far as it was personal, was *outwardly* made up; they interchanged letters, although not frequently, and occasionally preached in each other's pulpits; but the old wound ever afterwards left its scar. Whitfield died in America in 1770; in his will he spoke of John and Charles Wesley as his "honoured and dear friends and disinterested fellow-labourers:" and John Wesley, in the funeral sermon which he preached on him, wished, he said, to pay all respect to "so great and so good a man[o]."

Notwithstanding Wesley's endeavours to the contrary, his followers had for some time been drifting into Antinomianism, the natural result of Solifidianism. At the Conference of 1765, Wesley declared

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[o] Journal, November 23, 1770.

that when Satan found he could stop their work in no other manner, he "threw Calvinism into their way, and then Antinomianism, which struck at the root both of inward and outward holiness."

The minutes of the Conference of 1770 were drawn up with the view of counteracting the pernicious effects of this heresy. John Wesley had recommended his followers at the Conference, "Take heed to your doctrine! we have leaned too much towards Calvinism." What right Lady Huntingdon had to mix herself up with the business of Wesley's Conference does not appear, but this language greatly excited her wrath. She wrote to Charles Wesley that the meaning of the minutes was "Popery unmasked;" she called upon the students and the Master of her College at Trevecca to disavow them in writing under pain of dismissal, and the end was that Mr. Fletcher, and Mr. Benson the Master, refused to disavow them and did leave.

But the same controversy which had led to the separation between Wesley and Whitfield, broke out again, but with redoubled force, between the followers of Whitfield (who had died the year before) and the followers of Wesley. For a time, indeed, there was a short truce between them. John Wesley, with the view of promoting peace, drew up a Declaration signed by 57 members of the Conference, disavowing the sense which the Calvinistic party had given to his Minutes, and Lady Huntingdon met his declaration

in a similar spirit. Soon, however, the Calvinistic Controversy (as it is called) entered upon a new and not very creditable stage. On the one side were Wesley and Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley; on the other, the Rev. Rowland Hill, and his brother, Sir Richard Hill, Toplady, the Vicar of Broad Hembury, Devonshire, and Berridge, the eccentric Vicar of Everton. We need not describe a controversy which was disgraceful in the extreme to both parties, and from which Fletcher[p] alone retired with credit. Wesley indulged in sarcasm. By way of exposing Toplady's arguments he summed up the Calvinistic teaching in a letter, to which he attached Toplady's initials: "The sum of all is this: one in twenty of mankind is elected, nineteen out of twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved, do what they will; the reprobated shall be damned, do what they can. Reader, believe this or be damned. Witness my hand, A. T." This was of course wrong on the part of Wesley; but no words are strong enough to condemn the language of Toplady, Berridge, and Rowland Hill. We will dismiss the matter in Mr. Southey's words[q]: "It is scarcely credible that persons of good birth and education, and of unquestion-

[p] Of the part Fletcher took in the controversy Mr. Southey says (Life of Wesley, 480), "If ever true Christian charity was manifested in polemical writing, it was by Fletcher of Madeley."

[q] Ibid., p. 474.

able goodness and piety, should have carried on controversy in so vile a manner and with so detestable a spirit, if the hatred of Theologians had not unhappily been proverbial."

It has been already mentioned that the Countess of Huntingdon disliked being considered a Dissenter. She built various chapels in different parts of the country, and had the idea that, as a peeress, she had a right to appoint her chaplains, even if they were Clergymen of the English Church, when and where she liked. The most important chapel in London which she built at her own expense in 1775, was that of Spa Fields, and in that unconsecrated and unlicensed chapel she appointed two Clergymen, Dr. Haweis and Mr. Glascott, to officiate. Mr. Seldon, Vicar of Clerkenwell, objected to this proceeding, and instituted a suit in which he was successful against these two Clergymen in the Consistorial Court. Nothing, therefore, remained to the Countess for the future but to appoint Dissenters to preach in her chapels, and in order to protect them under the Act of Toleration, she was obliged to register her chapels as Dissenting places of worship, so that she became, however unwillingly, a Dissenter. She died on June 17, 1791.

The year 1784 marks one of the most important epochs in the history of Methodism. In that year, in order to provide for the government and the perpetuity of his connexion after his death, Wesley

drew up, and had formally enrolled in Chancery, a "Deed of Declaration." This poll-deed entrusted 100 preachers with the management of all the property belonging to the Society, to whom Wesley gave unlimited power to settle and regulate its affairs. Thus was Methodism *established* by the State.

Before the end of his life Wesley had overcome the prejudice and opposition which he had previously met with from the Clergy. The Clergy now overwhelmed him with invitations to preach in their churches, so that in 1777 he writes in his journal, "Is the offence of the Cross ceased? it appears after being scandalous nearly fifty years I am now at length grown into an honourable man." The most unhappy step in his life was taken by him in 1784. In that year, enfeebled by the weight of more than fourscore years[r], he attempted to give to others a power which he did not possess himself, of Ordination. Influenced by a book written by Peter King at a time when he was only twenty-one years of age, entitled "An Enquiry into the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church[s]," Wesley formed

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[r] His friend Alexander Knox attributes this act to senility and imbecility of mind.

[s] Peter King, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1715; Lord Chancellor, 1725; "a man not of the highest genius but of most respectable talents" (Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, iv. 567), the son of a grocer and a Dissenter at Exeter, was educated at the Calvinistic University of Leyden.

the idea that a Bishop is only the first priest in the diocese, and that there is no essential difference between the Episcopate and the Priesthood[t]. It was no doubt the fault of various governments in England that no Bishops had been consecrated for America; but this was no excuse to Wesley for performing a direct act of schism; what he could not do for England he fancied he could do for America; where there were "no Bishops with legal jurisdiction," he thought "to violate no order, and invade no man's right by appointing and sending labourers into the vineyard;" so on September 2, 1784, he set apart Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury as Superintendents, and two laymen, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, as Presbyters, for the Church in America[u].

The unfortunate step taken by John Wesley was full of incongruities, not to say absurdities. (1.) The ceremony was not performed openly and publicly, but secretly in his own bedchamber at Bristol. (2.)

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[t] The Minutes of Conference of 1747 affirm that the three Orders of the Ministry are "plainly described in the New Testament," and that they "generally obtained in the Churches of the Apostolic Age."

[u] Of this proceeding Charles Wesley wrote:—

"How easily are Bishops made
By man or woman's whim;
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid;—
But who laid hands on him?"

Dr. Coke was a Presbyter, and Wesley was a Presbyter, but Wesley undertook to give Coke something higher than he held himself, and the only higher office to be given was that of a Bishop. (3.) Yet when Coke repeated Wesley's own act, and proposed to consecrate Asbury as Bishop, Wesley wrote to Asbury: "How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called Bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal or a scoundrel, and I am content, but they shall never call me Bishop. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this. Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better[x]." (4.) Coke applied first to Bishops Seabury and White of the American Church to consecrate himself and Asbury as real Bishops, and later asked Lord Liverpool and William Wilberforce to get him promoted to an Indian Bishopric, which would of course entail consecration. He thus showed that he himself disbelieved in his Wesleyan Orders.

In America, as in England, Methodism had been formed in connexion with the Church: but through this misguided act of a High Churchman like Wesley the sect of Episcopal Methodists in America took its rise; by this indiscreet and inconsistent act he paved the way for a general secession from the

[x] Smith's Hist. of Methodism, i. 524.

Church, of which, after his death, his followers in England were not slow in availing themselves.

In 1787 he went one step further, when he set apart three ministers for Scotland, where there were not only already Bishops, but Bishops who had consecrated a Bishop for the Church in America.

In 1788 his brother Charles, the "sweet singer" in the movement, died in his eightieth year. Charles Wesley was the more perfect character of the two brothers; a more consistent Churchman than his brother: and though he differed from John Wesley in some important points of discipline, was to the end his faithful helper. Had his advice been followed, it is probable that Wesleyan Methodism would be at this time what John Wesley meant it to be, the friend and not the opponent of the Church.

On March 2, 1791, John Wesley died in London, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Probably no other man ever exercised an equal influence on the religion of England. The whole world he claimed as his parish; his mission was to preach to people who had no instructors, who were steeped in the deepest ignorance, and living the most degraded lives, often committing the most heinous sins with impunity, such as the Cornish wreckers and the colliers of Kingswood. As a preacher he was not the equal of Whitfield. Whitfield was not a learned man, but the manner of his preaching—such as England had never heard before—theatrical, often com-

monplace, but exhibiting the most intense earnestness of belief, combined with the deepest sympathy for the sin and sorrow of his fellow-creatures; his powerful but musical voice, which Franklyn said could easily be heard by a congregation of 30,000; the manner of his delivery, at once marked him out as the first pulpit orator of the day. It was no common enthusiast who could extort admiration from the cold infidelity of Hume, or from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklyn[y]; or who in Gloucester, Bristol, and London, could attract such crowds as no other preacher is ever known to have brought together[z].

We will end this chapter with a few remarks on John Wesley as a High Churchman.

A High Churchman, in the eighteenth-century meaning of the word, John Wesley never was. The High-Churchmanship of the eighteenth century took the form of an ecclesiastical Toryism, and was attached to a political rather than a theological creed; it held in theory the exclusive orthodoxy of the English Church, and was opposed to all, especially Roman, dissent from it; but it let go the *Catholic* element of the English Church, and lost the fervour,

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[y] Green's Hist. of the English People.

[z] George II. maintained to the last that the growth of Methodism was entirely owing to ministers not having followed his advice and made Whitfield a Bishop.—Essays and Reviews, p. 323.

the depth, the reference to antiquity which characterizes it.

John Wesley no doubt recognized the benefits that accrue to the State from its connexion with the Church, but to be a High Churchman in the sense described above, he never troubled himself. He was not a man to concern himself with the cry of the high and dry Churchmen of his day about the "Church in danger:" with those Churchmen he had little in common, but went back for his model in doctrine and worship to the primitive Church, before the divisions between East and West.

The Methodists of the present day, little appreciating the many-sidedness of the man, allege that, though he was once a High Churchman, he had, before the end of his life (and the year 1746 is given as the exact date of his change), "thrown over-board the last of his High-Church leanings." In contradiction to this he said himself, in 1778, "Fifty years ago I knew and preached every Christian doctrine which I preach now;" ten years later he said, "I have gone on for fifty years never varying from the doctrine of the Church at all." In the language of his friend, Alexander Knox, "he was a Church-of-England-man even in circumstantials; there was not a service or a ceremony, a gesture or a habit, for which he had not an unfeigned predilection." To the Primitive Church he always clung with fond attachment; thus he writes of Christmastide, 1774:

"During the twelve festival days we had the Lord's Supper daily — a little emblem of the Primitive Church[a]."

Against separation from the Church he from first to last spoke in the strongest language; in the minutes of the Conference of 1749 it is said, "Exhort those who were brought up in the Church constantly to attend its service." In the minutes of 1766, "We will not, dare not, separate from the Church. . . . We are not *Seceders*, nor do we bear any resemblance to them." In his journal in 1768: "I advise all over whom I have any influence readily to keep to the Church." In 1768 the twelfth minute of the Conference advises, "Let us keep to the Church; they that leave the Church leave the Methodists." In 1785 he writes in his journal, "I openly declared (at Bristol) I had no more thought of separating from the Church than I had forty years ago." Two years later, "I went over to Deptford. . . . After meeting the whole Society I told them, If you are resolved, you may have your Service in Church hours, but remember from that time you will see my face no more." "This," he adds, "struck deep, and from that hour I have heard no more of separating from the Church." In 1789 he writes with reference to the Conference of that year: "The case of separation from the Church was largely considered, and we

[a] Quoted from Abbey and Overton, ii. 68.

were unanimous against it." In one of his sermons preached the same year[b] he said, "The Methodists are still members of the Church; such they desire to live and die. . . . I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England; I love her Liturgy; I approve her plan of discipline; I dare not separate from the Church; *that I believe it would be a sin to do.*" In one of his last sermons he asked his people: "Did we ever appoint you to administer Sacraments? To exercise the Priestly office? *Such a design never entered into our mind; it was farthest from our thoughts.* . . . It does by no means follow that you are commissioned to baptize and administer the Lord's Supper. Ye never dreamed of this for ten or twenty years after ye began to preach; ye did not then, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, seek the Priesthood also; ye knew no man taketh this honour upon himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron. Oh, contain yourselves within your own bounds." Only a year before his death he wrote: "I live and die a member of the Church of England, and *no one who regards my judgment will ever separate from it*[c]."

Yet almost immediately after his death the Methodists took up a deliberately schismatical position,

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[b] Sermon cxv.

[c] On his tombstone it is recorded that his life had been devoted "to revive, enforce, and defend the pure Apostolical doctrines and practices of the Primitive Church, which he continued to do for more than half a century."

and their connexion with the Church soon ceased. Four years afterwards, at the annual Conference held at Manchester in 1795, a "Plan of Pacification" was agreed to, by which the preachers were authorized to celebrate the Holy Communion as the Conferences should appoint; at that date, therefore, the history of Wesleyan Methodism, as a Society within the Church, ends, and now the Methodists constitute the largest body of separatists from the Church [d].

[d] Immediately after their separation from the Church divisions sprung up amongst them. In 1797 the "Methodist New Connexion" was formed; in 1810 the "Primitive Methodists," or "Ranters," broke off; in 1815 the "Bible Christians;" in 1835 the "Wesleyan Methodist Association;" in 1849 the "Wesleyan Methodist Reformers."

CHAPTER IX.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

IT would be impossible to convey anything like an adequate idea of the condition of the Church in the eighteenth century without giving some sketch of the ecclesiastical condition of our Colonial Empire during that eventful period. Abroad, our dominion, whether by conquest or colonization, was rapidly extending itself, but no attempt was made either to convert the heathen, or to prevent the colonists from retrograding into barbarism. No collegiate institutions were fostered, no churches, no schools, were planted in their midst. As the century advanced, Clive brought under our sway a large portion of the vast empire of India, with which, as traders, we had been long connected. But it was to the zeal of the Roman Catholics, and the liberality of the King of Denmark, that our greatest dependency was indebted for the knowledge of Christ. Such blindness to the first duties of a Christian nation is almost incredible[a]. We had intended to confine the limits of this work to a history of the Church *in* England, but we propose

[a] Church Quarterly Review, viii. 347.

for a short space to deviate from our plan; and as the same reckless neglect was meted out to all our colonies, we shall confine ourselves to one, at that time the most important of all our possessions, North America.

From the year 1607, when the first small band of English settlers landed in Virginia, to the close of the American Revolution in 1783, it can scarcely be said that the Church existed in America. There were indeed, here and there, a few erratic Clergymen, mostly supported through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and their congregations, composed of those who were reared in the bosom of the Church of England; but the most material part of the Church's system was wanting; the Church was prevented by the State, under pain of *Præmunire*, from sending out Bishops; there was no one in America to confer Confirmation or Orders; the Clergy were under the supervision of the Bishop of London; and those who sought Confirmation or Orders were obliged to undertake an expensive and perilous journey of three thousand miles each way, from and to America.

The most marked feature (if not its very origin) in the colonization of America was the religious element. Those who in the seventeenth century left their homes in England to seek a new home in the American provinces were men who were instigated by religious convictions. Church of Eng-

land men in Virginia, Puritans in New England, Quakers in Pennsylvania; all sought in the New World religious freedom, and all obtained a much larger measure of religious liberty than could be found in Europe. Driven from home by the antipathies which differences in religion had excited, and united by no religious bond beyond such as hatred of authority, embittered by spiritual pride, had produced, the emigrants left the shores of England without a sigh and without regret. Seekers after toleration themselves, they had no idea of tolerating those who differed from them; sufferers for conscience' sake, and desiring freedom from those who persecuted them, they had only one bond of union, and that bond was an unmitigated hatred to the Church of their birth. And this hatred of the Church, at a time when the Church's hands were tied by the State, only gathered strength. Here, then, was a fine field for the Church to work in; the State hampered it and prevented it from performing its task; Dissent consequently had an unfair advantage, and grew and prospered whilst the Church languished.

A few preliminary words on the history of American colonization may not be out of place. Virginia (which, however, received little more than its name from Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen) was settled in 1607 by an English colony, the first seeds of that race of Englishmen which was to multiply in time into the great American Nation.

On December 22, 1620, Massachusetts was occupied by 102 Puritan settlers, who arrived there in the *Mayflower* from Southampton.

New Hampshire was founded in 1623 by Calvinists from Hampshire in England; Connecticut in 1631. In 1634 Maryland was settled by Lord Baltimore and about 200 Roman Catholic families; Rhode Island, in 1636, by Baptists, who sought an asylum from Puritan intolerance in Massachusetts; North Carolina was colonized from Virginia in 1653; in 1664 New York, New Jersey, and Delaware were taken from the Dutch; in 1670 South Carolina was granted by Charles II. to Lord Berkeley, with the promise of religious equality to all sects; in 1682 Pennsylvania, purchased from the Duke of York, was peopled by Quakers under William Penn. In 1733 Georgia, the youngest of the original states, was founded by General Oglethorpe as a refuge for debtors after their release from prison in England.

The foundation of the States was based upon a religious principle[b]. King James I., in the charter which he granted in 1606 for the settling of Virginia, made reference to "the preaching of the true Word and observance of the due service of God according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England,

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[b] As early as 1589 Sir Walter Raleigh gave £100 (no inconsiderable sum at that time) in "especial regard and zeal for planting the Christian Religion" in Virginia.

not only among the British Colonies, but also as much as might be among the savages bordering upon them:" and that "all persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God."

After the Restoration the features of moral and religious evil in our transatlantic colonies drew towards them the attention of some good and pious men at home. Sir Leoline Jenkins founded by his will two missionary Fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford, for Clergymen who might be willing to go as missionaries into our plantations; and Robert Boyle, after having planned a scheme for the propagation of the Gospel among the natives of New England, founded those lectures which bear his name, to convert infidels to the true faith of Christ, and *to promote the missionary objects which he had at heart.*

The Bishops of London sent out Commissaries who, even if they had jurisdiction, had not the authority and power of Bishops; though the efforts of such men as Dr. Blair, who was appointed Commissary to Virginia in 1683, and held that post for fifty-three years, and of Dr. Bray, appointed Commissary of Maryland in 1695, were beyond praise.

In the reign of William III. the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and that for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts three years

later, were organized, the second of which applied itself, with a success that cannot be overrated, to sending missionaries to the plantations.

But the appointment of Bishops (which was sorely needed if the Church of England was to hold its own) met with almost uninterrupted opposition from successive governments. As early as 1638 the energetic mind of Laud had formed a plan for sending out Bishops into New England; but it was defeated by the breaking out of the civil wars, and by the overthrow of the throne and of the Altar both at home and in the Colonies. After the Restoration a patent was actually made out, under the direction of Lord Clarendon, appointing Dr. Alexander Murray as Bishop of Virginia, with a general charge over the other provinces. The plan, however, was defeated by a change of ministry, and the accession to power of the Cabal government; nor is it likely that under a concealed Papist like Charles, or again under an avowed Papist like his successor, the plan would receive much encouragement from government.

Next came the reign of William III. But William was himself a Presbyterian, and never had any particular regard for the Church's system. Many of the Colonies which had been founded by Dissenters had grown into importance, and although they were themselves granted full liberty to govern their own body as they liked, they objected to the same liberty

being granted to the Church; in vain the Americans, laity as well as clergy, petitioned again and again for an Episcopate; the Dissenters both in America and England were opposed to it, and it was William's object to court and favour the Dissenters; so nothing was effected.

But with the reign of Queen Anne a better prospect opened out, and it seemed as if something would really be done for the American Church. In 1709 a memorial on the subject was presented to the Queen; in 1710, Colonel Nicholson, the Governor, urgently advocated the appointment of a Bishop for Virginia; a plan was actually on foot for sending out (the future Dean) Swift as Bishop; in 1712 a Committee of the S.P.G. was appointed "to consider of proper plans for the residence, of the revenues, and the methods of procuring Bishops and Bishoprics for America," and earnestly represented to the Queen the great importance of the subject. A comprehensive scheme for the founding of four Bishoprics, two for the Islands, to be settled at Jamaica and Barbadoes, two for the Continent of America, to be settled, the one at Williamsburg in Virginia, the other at Burlington in New Jersey, met with the personal approbation and encouragement of the Queen. The S.P.G. received munificent bequests for the purpose; and a sum of £600 was actually expended on the purchase of Burlington House, New Jersey, for the palace of one of the Bishops.

But just as success seemed on the point of crowning these efforts, the Queen died.

With the accession of the Hanoverian family, the long period of torpor which prevailed throughout the eighteenth century commenced. The deadening influence of the Latitudinarian Bishops appointed by William began to produce its results. The Church languished under such Bishops as Hoadly; the nation knew little and cared less about Church principles, and ceased to take interest in the matter; above all, Walpole's government was deaf to all appeals founded on justice to the Church, and lent its ear to the objections of the Dissenters; and so a blight fell alike on the Church in England and the Church in the Colonies.

Still Archbishop Tenison, Latitudinarian as he was, favoured the scheme, and by his will, in 1715, left £1,000 towards an American Episcopate, and the S.P.G. continued urgent in the cause. That Society represented to the King that "since the time of their incorporation in the late reign, they had used their best endeavours to answer the end of their institution, by sending over at great expense ministers for the more regular administration of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, together with schoolmasters, pious and useful books, to the Plantations and Colonies in America;" they told him how the the late Queen had favoured their project, and they implored him to carry out the intentions

which were only prevented by her death, of sending out two Bishops for the Islands, and as many for the Continent.

It was about this period that America, failing in her moderate and reasonable requests for an Episcopate from the national Church, had recourse to the Nonjuring Bishops, who could not be deprived by the civil authorities of their inherent power of conferring Holy Orders and of consecrating Bishops. In 1723 two missionaries of the S.P.G. solicited and obtained consecration as Bishops from the Nonjurors, and started for America. The two Bishops, Dr. Whelton and Mr. Talbot, observed the greatest secrecy in the performance of their episcopal functions, but there is reason to believe that they did privately administer Confirmation, and in a few cases confer Orders. Accounts of their proceedings were, however, before long sent to England by those who were hostile to the Episcopate; Dr. Whelton was ordered on his allegiance to return, and Mr. Talbot, the oldest Missionary of the Society, was deprived of his office under the S.P.G. But this circumstance of the Nonjurors, who were the foes of the government, having exercised Episcopal functions in America was made capital of by the Clergy in that country; they represented the danger of "corrupting the affections of the people of that country to our most excellent constitution and the person of his most sacred Majesty," and "the great use and benefit of

our orthodox and legal Bishops residing among them[c];" and Bishop Gibson pressed upon the government the expediency of sanctioning for America the consecration of Bishops favourable to the House of Hanover.

This is the proper place to introduce one of the greatest Bishops and the greatest metaphysician of the age, the good and great Bishop Berkeley. George Berkeley (1685—1753) was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, of which, in 1707, he became a Fellow, and was ordained in 1709. As early as 1710 he published his great work, "A Treatise concerning the principles of Human Knowledge," which he brought out in a popular form in 1713, under the title of "Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous, the design of which is plainly to demonstrate the reality and perfection of Human Knowledge, the Incorporeal Nature of the Soul, and the immediate Providence of a Deity; in opposition to Sceptics and Atheists." In 1713 he contributed to Steele's paper, the "Guardian," fourteen Essays against the Freethinkers, more especially the Deist Collins, who had lately published his "Discourse on Freethinking." In 1722 he was appointed Dean of Dromore, a lucrative sinecure of about £1,400 a year, and as it required neither residence nor the performance of

[c] S.P.G. MSS.

duties, he was able to hold with it the office of Senior Proctor and Hebrew Lecturer at the University. In 1724 he was appointed to the Deanery of Derry, worth £1,100 a year.

Of Berkeley, to whom Pope ascribes "every virtue under Heaven[d]," Dr. Swift writes to Lord Carteret in 1724: "Dr. George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, hath for three years past been struck with a notion of founding an University at Bermuda, by a Charter from the Crown... His heart will break if his Deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of Courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision, but nothing will do. And therefore I humbly entreat your Excellency either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design." The design to which Swift referred was one for "converting the savage Americans to Christianity by a

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[d] "Manners with candour are to Benson (Bishop of Gloucester) given,
To Berkeley every virtue under Heaven."
Atterbury said of him, "So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman."—Jones of Nayland's Works, vi. 53.

College to be erected on the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda." Dr. Berkeley succeeded through private influence in interesting King George, and obtaining from him a Charter for his proposed institution, under the name of St. Paul's College, Bermuda, which was to consist of a President and nine Fellows, and the King commanded Sir Robert Walpole to introduce an address into the House of Commons for endowing the College with £20,000. The address was carried almost unanimously, but Walpole was from the first and, as we shall presently see, to the last, opposed to the whole measure. Berkeley, however, was full of hope; all difficulties and obstructions were on the point of being removed, but at the last moment, just before the great seal was to be attached to the grant, George I. died.

All, therefore, had to be begun afresh. Such, however, was Berkeley's energy, that every difficulty seemed on the point of being overcome. He proposed to resign his Deanery, reserving for himself only £100 a year; and three Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, whose names deserve to be recorded,—King, Thompson, and Rogers—with a zeal worthy of the best ages of the Church, were found ready to resign their Fellowships, and to accompany him to America, on salaries of £40 a year. In vain Queen Caroline, with whom he was a favourite, offered Berkeley a Bishopric, if only he would remain

at home[e]; nothing could deflect him from his purpose, and in 1728 he sailed for America. For three years he waited patiently, labouring amongst the inhabitants of Rhode Island, making provision for his future College, and expecting the payment of the promised £20,000. On a sudden all his hopes were dashed to the ground. The government appropriate the money for another object, and when Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, interrogated Walpole on the subject, the only reply he received was: "If you put the question to me as a Minister, I must and can answer you that the money shall most assuredly be paid as soon as suits the public convenience; but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means to return to Europe and to give up his present expectations." The good Dean was obliged reluctantly to follow the advice of Gibson, and in 1731 he quitted America, after having spent on the scheme "much of his private fortune and more than seven years" of his valuable life. But even then, with the kindness and generosity which was part of his nature, he gave his house and 100 acres of cultivated land around it to Yale and Harvard Colleges, and presented the books, to the

[e] Berkeley is represented to have answered: "I would rather preside over the College of St. Paul at Bermuda than be made Primate of All England."—Bartlett's Mem. of Butler, p. 258.

value of £500, which he had intended for his college, to those institutions and to the Clergy of Rhode Island [f].

From time to time the English Bishops advocated, as far as words could do so, the cause of the American Episcopate; but the question is why did they not, if they believed themselves to be the successors of the Apostles, transmit to others that power which they had received for this very purpose? Could the Bishops of the eighteenth century really have felt that their office was of divine institution, and yet have refused to give to others that gift which is essential to the constitution of the Christian Church? The truth is, that they were afraid of the state and of incurring the penalties of a *Præmunire* (though this is not the spirit which once prevailed in the Church); or that during the torpor of the eighteenth century the spiritual character of their office was so much merged in the temporal, that they became habituated to the idea that their rights and powers depended on the will of Kings and Parliaments.

[f] In 1732 Berkeley published the largest and most popular of his works, "Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher," which he had composed during his stay in Rhode Island, with the design of considering "the Freethinkers in the various lights of Atheist, Libertine, Enthusiast, Scorner, Critic, Metaphysician, Fatalist, and Sceptic." (Advertisement to Alciphron.) Queen Caroline so admired the work, that through her interest he was, in 1734, appointed to the Bishopric of Cloyne.

But in blaming the Bishops we must not forget that their position was full of difficulties, not only from the government, but also from the Dissenters both in England and America. We think the English Bishops ought and could have consecrated a Bishop to America, and do not believe they would have suffered the penalties of *Præmunire;* but short of that everything was done that could be done by the Church of England. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel earnestly advocated the cause; and their efforts were seconded by several of the Episcopal Bench: but all was to no purpose; the Dissenters in England and America were opposed to it, and even in a matter relating only to itself the Church must yield. Dr. Sherlock, in a letter to Dr. Doddridge[g], says: "I did apply to the King as soon as I was Bishop of London (1748) to have two or three Bishops appointed to the Plantations to reside there, and I thought there could be no reasonable objection to it not even from Dissenters, as the Bishops proposed were to have no jurisdiction but over the clergy of their own Church . . . and as in New England they were so numerous, it never was proposed to settle a Bishop in that country. You were perhaps no stranger to the manner in which the news of this proposal was received in New England; if you are, I will only say that they used all

[g] Correspondence and Diary of Dr. Doddridge.

their influence to obstruct the settling Bishops of the Episcopal Church there. . . . At the same time that they gave the opposition, they set up a mission of their own for Virginia, a country entirely episcopal, by authority of their Synod." And we shall find in like manner that from first to last the Dissenters, who though they had free liberty of conscience allowed to them, set themselves against the same freedom being allowed to the Church, and that through them the government, which courted the votes of the Dissenters, refused to perform this simple act of justice to America.

Soon after he was appointed (in 1750) to the See of Durham, Bishop Butler, in the hope of disarming sectarian and political hostility, drew up a plan, most unobjectionable, it might be supposed, for an American Episcopate. The scheme, as formulated by him, consisted of four propositions, or rather restrictions:—(1) That no coercive power is desired over the Laity, but only the power to regulate the Clergy in Episcopal Orders; (2) Nothing is desired for such Bishops which would interfere with the temporal government; (3) The maintenance of the Bishops is not to be charged on the Colonies; (4) It is intended to settle no Bishops where the government is in the hands of Dissenters, as in New England, &c., but only authority is to be given to ordain and confirm, and to inspect the Clergy, for members of Church of England congregations. Bishop Butler

died in 1752, and by his will left £500 in furtherance of the plan he had so much at heart; and Dr. Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, dying the same year, left a legacy to the S.P.G. "to be added to the fund for settling Bishops in our Plantations in America."

Again the plan was revived by Archbishop Secker, who had for a long time interested himself in it, as soon as he was appointed to the Primacy in 1758; but he was met by a storm of opposition from the Dissenters in America. Dr. Mayhew, a Congregational minister in Boston, published in 1763 an angry pamphlet consisting of 147 pages, displaying an unaccountable jealousy on his part and on the part of the Dissenters, accusing the S.P.G.[h] with departing from the spirit of its Charter, and casting reflexions on the Church of England for its design of appointing Bishops to America. This pamphlet called forth in the following year an anonymous reply from Archbishop Secker. The Archbishop pointed out how that "All members of every Church are, according to the principles of liberty, entitled to every part of what they conceive to be the benefits of it, entire and complete, so far as consists with the welfare of civil government. Yet the members of our Church in America do not thus enjoy its benefits,

[h] This was in reference to a pamphlet published by the Rev. E. Apthorpe, a Missionary under the S.P.G. at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

having no Protestant Bishop within 3,000 miles of them, a case which never had its parallel before in the Christian world." He explained how that "it was not intended that the Bishops appointed should concern themselves at all with persons who did not belong to the Church of England, but only ordain ministers for such as do, confirm their children, and take the oversight of the Clergy; that it was never intended to fix a Bishop in New England, but that Episcopal Colonies have always been proposed[i]."

Notwithstanding opposition, the Archbishop did not despair of success. In 1764 he wrote to Dr. Johnson of New York[k]: "The affair of American Bishops continues in suspense; Lord Willoughby of Parham, the only English dissenting Peer, and Dr. Chandler have declared, after our scheme was fully laid before them, that they saw no objection against it. The Duke of Bedford, Lord President, hath given a calm and favourable hearing to it, hath desired it may be reduced to writing, and promised to consult about it with the other ministers at his first leisure." And yet nothing except abuse of the Archbishop resulted. "Posterity will be amazed when they are told that on this account his (Archbishop Secker's) memory has been pursued in pamphlets and newspapers with such unrelenting rancour,

[i] Archbishop Secker's Works, vol. ix.
[k] Life of Dr. Johnson.

such unexampled wantonness of abuse, as he scarce would have deserved had he attempted to eradicate Christianity, and to introduce Mahometanism in its room[l]."

The scheme, however, was not dropped in America. The colonists of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, with a view to obtaining their object, formed themselves into a union under the title of the "Voluntary Convention;" and in May, 1771, the Connecticut Clergy addressed an earnest appeal to the Bishop of London. It represented that, "While Roman Catholics in one of her Majesty's Colonies are allowed a Bishop, and the Moravians are indulged the same favour in another, and every blazing enthusiast throughout the British Empire is tolerated in the full enjoyment of every peculiarity of his sect, what have the sons of the Church in America done that they are treated with such neglect, and are overlooked by Government? Will it not prevent the growth of the Church, and thereby *operate to the disadvantage of religion and loyalty?*" Nor did they confine themselves to words, or to merely sending messages to England; they despatched deputies throughout the States to secure the concurrent voice of Episcopal America; the King, there is reason to believe, was in favour of the movement[m]; had such

[l] Porteus's Life of Secker, p. 55.

[m] Archbishop Secker said the King had repeatedly expressed himself in favour of the episcopacy.

a case only been presented earlier, it would have called forth a general voice, which would have been too powerful for the government in England to resist[a].

But it was too late. The ill-feeling which had long existed between the States and the mother country, and which the presence of a Bishop in America might have gone far to pacify, was brought to a head when the government of George III. set on foot a plan, which, whether it was just or not, had never been before attempted, of taxing the American Colonies; and the first blood in the war of Independence was shed in 1775.

After the outbreak of the Rebellion, the Church, even though some of the leaders in America were amongst its members, was from the first an object of suspicion to the insurgents. Some points in the English ritual, and especially the prayer for the King, were incompatible with Republican institutions, and the Clergy were frequently ordered to exchange the word "King" for that of "Commonwealth." Firmness in some few cases, but not always, succeeded. Mr. Inglis, of whom we shall hear again presently, fearlessly continued the services in the words of the English Prayer-Book; and being told that General Washington would be at his church, and that he must make the changes, he replied that

[a] Fulham MSS., as quoted in Wilberforce's American Church, p. 167.

"it was in his (General Washington's) power to close the churches, but by no means in his power to make the Clergy depart from their duty."

It is a fact worth noticing that in the Northern provinces, where most of the Clergy were missionaries of the S.P.G., and who, therefore, were more identified with the English nation, none of the Clergy are known to have joined the ranks of the insurgents. But the American Clergy did not on the whole maintain the loyal tone which distinguished their northern brethren. As there was no Bishop to act as the common centre of the Clergy, and the general tone was lower amongst those of the South than it was in the North, one-third of the Clergy in the provinces south of Pennsylvania joined the Revolution; more than one of the Clergy laid aside his office to take up the musket and the sword; and at the close of the war two of their number had risen to the rank of Brigadier-General [o].

When the war broke out, the S.P.G. was supporting seventy-seven Clergymen in the States; and these suffered most severely for their allegiance to their Church and King: many of them with difficulty escaping with their lives to England, or to the neighbouring provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia, which continued faithful in their allegiance. As the war proceeded, outrages on churches and Clergy became frequent, and when peace was proclaimed in

[o] Wilberforce, 178.

1783, the Church in America was wasted and almost destroyed. At the beginning of the war, Virginia had one hundred and sixty-four churches and ninety-one Clergymen; when peace was signed many of her churches were in ruins, and of her ninety-one Clergymen only twenty-eight remained; in Pennsylvania only one church was left, the Clergyman of which, Mr. White, was soon to be consecrated as a Bishop; but he from the first had taken part with the Colonies, and was the second person to take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania [p].

But good came out of evil. No sooner was it known in America that England had acknowledged her independence, than some American gentlemen, who for some time had been preparing for Orders, sailed for London and requested Bishop Lowth to ordain them. But now a new difficulty presented itself: the Bishop could not ordain them without requiring engagements inconsistent with their independence, and for some time it appeared that the applicants were likely to have recourse to the Danish Communion (itself having only a Presbyterian succession) to confer Orders on Americans. The Bishop of London staved off this difficulty by obtaining an Act of Parliament, enabling him to confer Deacon's and Priest's Orders on the candidates from America. But this Act did not extend to

[p] Bishop White's Memoirs, liv.

Bishops. As soon as peace was concluded, Dr. Seabury, who had been elected by the Clergy of Connecticut, came to England to obtain consecration as a Bishop, and as the See of Canterbury was vacant, made application to the Archbishop of York. Here, however, the same difficulty occurred in another shape. Dr. Seabury of course could not take the oath of allegiance to the King of England; the Bishops could not, or thought they could not, absolve him from it, and therefore without a special Act of Parliament a Bishop for America could not be consecrated in England. Under these circumstances Dr. Seabury had recourse to the Church of Scotland, which was not hampered by connexion with the State.

The way for his consecration had already been prepared in the autumn of 1782 (before the independence of America had been recognized) by Dr. Berkeley, Prebendary of Canterbury, son of the great Bishop Berkeley, and inheritor of his father's zeal for the Church in America. He had pointed out to Mr. Skinner (who was soon to be raised to the Scotch Episcopate) that, whereas there might be strong objections in America to a Bishop consecrated in a country against which the Colonists had rebelled, there could be no similar objection with regard to a persecuted Church like the Scotch; and he at the same time represented to him that if some step were not taken, the American Church might

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seek consecration for its Bishops from the Church of Rome. He doubted whether it were in the power of the English Church to consecrate a Bishop without a royal, and probably a parliamentary, licence also: and even if the Church of England did consecrate such a Bishop, the American Congress would probably complain that England was still claiming a supremacy over the independent States.

The Scotch Bishops, after some deliberation, expressed their warm approval of the project of Dr. Berkeley; on August 31 Dr. Seabury made his application to them, and on November 14, 1784, was consecrated a Bishop at Aberdeen by three Bishops of the Scotch Church, Bishops Kilgour, Petre, and Skinner (Bishops respectively of Aberdeen, Ross, and Moray), the whole College at that time consisting only of four Bishops. On his return to America, two or three candidates from the Southern States received Ordination at his hands.

Nevertheless, though the validity of Dr. Seabury's consecration was undoubted, and generally accepted by Churchmen in America, the state of things was not considered satisfactory, and a desire still prevailed in America to obtain consecration for their Bishops through Canterbury; and on September 27, 1785, a Convention of clerical and lay deputies met in Philadelphia to consider the subject of the Episcopate. They first applied themselves to proposing, but not establishing, such alterations in the

Book of Common Prayer as they thought to be important, or such as the changed circumstances of their country required, and these they published in a book since known as the "Proposed Book." They next addressed themselves to the English Bishops, stating that the Episcopal Church in the United States had been severed, by the civil revolution, from the jurisdiction of the parent Church in England; acknowledging the favour formerly received from the Bishops of London in particular, and from the Archbishops and Bishops in general, through the medium of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; declaring their desire to perpetuate among them the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England; and praying them to consecrate Bishops to their ministry [1].

This address was presented by Mr. Adams, the American Minister, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the spring of 1786 an answer signed by the two Archbishops and eighteen Bishops was returned, acknowledging the receipt of the Christian and brotherly address of the Convention, but delaying measures till they had received the revised Book of Common Prayer, it having been represented to them through private sources that the alterations in the Book were essential deviations, either in doctrine or in discipline, from the Church of England.

[1] Bishop White's Memoirs, p. 21.

Not long afterwards the American Convention received another communication from the two Archbishops, writing in the name of the other Bishops, saying that they expected an Act of Parliament would be shortly passed enabling them to consecrate Bishops for America, but requesting that before they proceeded under the Act, satisfaction should be given them as to the omission in the Proposed Book of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and of the Descent into Hell in the Apostles' Creed.

On the receipt of the second letter the Convention met on October 10, 1786; the Nicene Creed was, without debate, restored and placed after the Apostles' Creed; the clause of the Descent into Hell was, after considerable debate, also restored; but the restoration of the Athanasian Creed was negatived. The difficulties were thus mainly removed; and on February 4 Drs. Provoost and White were consecrated Bishops for America in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, by Archbishops Moore of Canterbury and Markham of York, Bishops Moss of Bath and Wells, and Hinchcliffe of Peterborough.

Not long afterwards, although the validity of Dr. Seabury's Orders was generally accepted, all doubt, in case any existed, was removed by the consecration in England of Dr. Madison, President of the College at Williamsburg; so that the American Church was placed in a position thenceforward to consecrate canonically its own Bishops. Thus the

succession of the American Bishops at the present time has descended from the English Church as well as from the Scottish. Accordingly, at the Triennial Convention held at New York in 1792, the first Episcopal Consecration in America took place, when Dr. Claggett, who had been elected by the Convention of Maryland, was consecrated by Bishop Provoost, assisted by Bishops Seabury, White, and Madison.

Mr. Pitt is said to have stated that, had the Church of England been efficiently represented in America, it was highly probable the United States would never have separated from Great Britain. As those Clergymen whom the Church had leavened remained the most loyal subjects of the throne of England, there is strong reason for believing that this opinion was well founded; and it is a melancholy reflection what might have been the result had the State in the last century carried out more faithfully its duty to the Church, and allowed it freedom in performing its undoubted duties. The Colonies, no doubt, would have obtained their independence, but there is no reason why they should not have retained their affection for the mother country; England and America might have been saved the bitter sufferings of the War of Independence, and the world, its evident result, the horrors of the French Revolution.

Not only justice to the Church and justice to America, but common humanity, pleaded for an American Episcopate. It was stated that for part

of a diocese to be 3,000 miles distant from its Bishop had never been paralleled in the Christian world. The support of a Colonial Episcopate was again and again urged upon the State on the score of humanity. Not only did the journey entail on those who were forced to cross the Atlantic an expense of at least £100, but it was estimated that of those who crossed it nearly a fifth part lost their lives[r]. As a consequence the native candidates for Orders were few in number, as a further consequence more than half the churches were frequently without Clergy; whilst another evil consequence followed, that in spite of every effort that could be made to the contrary, the Clergymen who went from England were often men of irreligious lives, who went to America in order to escape the Episcopal supervision to which they would be subjected at home.

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[r] The small pox was exceedingly fatal to Americans who visited England. Within a few years seven candidates for Orders from the Northern Colonies died during their absence from America.

PART III.

THE EVANGELICAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE EVANGELICAL SCHOOL.

BY the time at which we are now arrived, the Church had fallen into the lowest depths of apathy and indifference, and the State was learning, in the increase of crime and the prevalence of ungodliness, the consequences of its injustice to the Church. A decay in religion had produced a corresponding decay in morality, whilst the Church looked on with folded arms; the Clergy enjoyed but little influence over the people; truly the salt had lost its savour.

But in the closing years of the eighteenth century, just when the Church had sunk to its lowest ebb, and everything seemed dark and hopeless; at the very time when there was too good reason for alarm lest the horrors of the French Revolution should communicate themselves to England, signs of returning life began to manifest themselves within the Church. The spirit of John Wesley at length animated the Church, and fanned into life its smouldering embers; and Evangelicalism, a form analogous to, although not identical with, Methodism, and springing out of the teaching of Whitfield rather than that of Wesley, arose, as a natural con-

sequence within the Church of the work which the Methodists had effected independently of it. From the end of the eighteenth throughout the first quarter of the present century the Evangelicals, as they were called, although never equal to those who were in contradistinction called the Orthodox party, either in numbers or purely intellectual force, and never numbering in their ranks the highest dignitaries of the Church, yet in their duties as Clergymen were the most zealous and influential, and maintained an almost undisputed pre-eminence amongst the masses of the population.

In the present day people are apt to disparage and undervalue the Evangelical movement. Faults those Evangelicals no doubt had, but they were faults not of the heart but of the head. No one man of commanding genius laid the foundation of the new spiritual dynasty. No scholars arose among them illustrious for learning, nor any authors to whom the homage of the world at large has been rendered. With the exception of the poet Cowper, it produced no writer whose works were extensively read in general society. The terms of membership were never definite or severe; and in a few years the discipline of the school imperceptibly declined, and errors coeval with its existence exhibited themselves in an exaggerated form. When country gentlemen and merchants, Lords spiritual and temporal, and fashionable ladies of the world, gave in their adherence to it with feelings strangely

balanced between the human and the divine, the glories of heaven and the vanities of earth, then the spirit that actuated the "Fathers of Methodism" was to be traced in the "Evangelical Fathers," not so much in their burning zeal, as in their insubordination to episcopal rule, and their unquenchable thirst for spiritual excitement[a].

But if we would judge the Evangelicals fairly, we must carry ourselves back to the time and circumstances in which they lived. If they were not conspicuous for theological learning, it must be remembered that in those days, when Bishoprics and Deaneries, and the highest prizes of the Church, were bestowed, not on personal merit or learning, but on account of aristocratical or political connexion, theological studies were, by universal consent, thrown into the background. The Evangelicals felt that people did not need so much to be aroused to the belief, as to the sense and practice, of religion; and that the requirement of the day was a fervent, heart-stirring enthusiasm. They cared little for doctrine, except their own interpretation of it; they set little store by Apostolical succession, and by the value of sacraments; they gave an exclusive pre-eminence to the doctrine of "Justification by Faith," and, although they indignantly denied the charge of Antinomianism, they dwelt little on the necessity of good works as

[a] Stephen's Essays in Eccl. Biog., ii. 171.

the fruits of Faith; Regeneration they confused with Conversion; the Holy Eucharist they valued as a bare commemoration, not as the Sacrament by which Faith is nourished in the soul; sermons and extempore prayers they placed before the Prayer-Book and Creeds, and the pulpit before the altar. They were blind admirers of the Reformation, of which they formed an entirely erroneous impression; they first coined a system of theology utterly unlike that of the Prayer-Book, and in order to invest it with some air of consistency, they invented the theory that the identity of the Church was broken, and Protestantism established, at the Reformation. The English Church they regarded simply as one of the Protestant Communions throughout the world.

The starting-point of the Evangelicals was the exact opposite to that of the Rationalists, which had been so much in vogue during the eighteenth century. With the latter, the Religion of Nature and the Christian Religion were almost convertible terms; with the Evangelicals, on the other hand, human nature was opposed to everything that is good; nature and grace were two antagonistic principles, and until nature is changed by grace, and that by no external ordinances, but by the *perception* of an inward change, there is in man a radical and insuperable repugnance to religion. Dividing their hearers into two classes, believers and unbelievers, in which latter class they included by far the greater

number (and that for two opposite reasons, because some were too wicked, and others trusted too much to good works), they took the Bible as their sole guide, they substituted Bible truth for abstract argument, and applied it to the consciences of their people. Their sermons frequently lasted an hour, sometimes an hour and a half; they would preach, as they said, half an hour before Christ came, and an hour afterwards: they represented sin in its most hideous colours—an enraged God as a severe creditor who would exact the uttermost farthing—and the Saviour as the sinner's friend, ready and willing to save. Personal election, sudden conversion, experimental religion, these were considered as the tests of gospel truth; a person must not only have a special revelation that Christ died for him, but must feel that his salvation is now so certain as to place him beyond further doubt. Faults he might have, but he was saved; others might have virtues, but unless they had this personal assurance, they were not only not saved, but they had not advanced one step on the road to salvation.

The sources from which, next to the Bible, the Evangelicals drew their inspiration were not works of Patristic nor Anglo-Catholic theology, nor such as were familiar to English Churchmen, but Protestant books of the sixteenth, and Nonconformist books of the seventeenth, century[b]. The Homilies

[b] Stoughton's Religion in England.

were their delight, and to them they appealed in support of their views; certain Articles, especially the seventeenth, they regarded with particular favour, whilst several parts of the Church's formularies, especially the Baptismal and Burial Services, were little to their taste. They firmly believed in the Bible, that it was given by Inspiration of God; but if they were asked why *their* interpretation was right, and the opinions of those who differed from them were wrong, or why they accepted certain books as canonical and rejected others, they had no answer to give.

In their lives they were pious and consistent Christians, living as they taught others to live, holding, indeed, that the chief duty of a Clergyman was preaching, to which everything else must give place, yet zealous and laborious parish priests, instant in season and out of season; caring little for remuneration, they worked incessantly in visiting the sick, in exhorting the whole, in seeking out sinners, in teaching in schools; they promoted missions to the heathen, and they eradicated the lingering vestiges of Arianism.

The existence of a party within the Church, from whose doctrine, and discipline, and ritual it essentially differed; of men who, not troubling themselves about matters of doctrine and discipline, attacked the strongholds of Satan by preaching the Gospel simply and from their hearts, was a peculiar feature of the eighteenth century. How came such a party to find a place within the Church of England? That the

Church was intended by our Reformers to remain as Catholic after the Reformation as it was before, there cannot be the least doubt. The word "Protestant," as applied to our Church, is both etymologically and historically misleading. In its strict sense it denotes those German Princes, Clergy, and others, who on April 29, 1529, lodged their *Protest* against the condemnation of Luther by the Diet of Spires, and appealed thence to a General Council[c]. It is a matter of historical fact that there never has been any official relation between the Church of England and German Lutheranism. That Luther's powerful genius influenced the Reformation everywhere, even in those countries which were most opposed to him, is indisputable: and thus his teaching is, to some extent, traceable in the Anglican Formularies. Zurich and Geneva, in which places the exiles from England sought refuge during the reign of Mary, were, the former the centre of Zwinglian, the latter of Calvinistic, teaching; with Wittenburg, the abode of Lutheran Theology, Zurich was at open war; and this fact explains the lack of sympathy on the part of the exiles of Zurich with Lutheranism. So that when this party of Marian exiles, which formed the nucleus of the Puritan school, returned to England at the accession of Elizabeth, the faith which they brought with them was Zwinglo-Calvinist, and not

[c] See vol. i. p. 47.

Lutheran. One brief citation from Luther himself will clearly set forth his opinion of Zwinglianism: "Blessed is the man that hath not stood in the council of the Sacramentarians, and hath not walked in the ways of the Zwinglians, nor sat in the seat of them at Zurich[d]." The conclusion is that as the foreign Zwinglians and Calvinists were not styled Protestants, but were even at war with the Protestants of Germany, the title could not have been, and indeed was not, adopted by the Church of England at that time. In fact, it seems to have been studiously and purposely avoided by our Reformers. It cannot be by accident that not once in the formularies of the Church in England, although it was in use on the Continent, and was known to our Reformers, is the word "Protestant" ever used. On the contrary, the Church of England makes incessant appeals to the Christian Church of the first five centuries; and not only does the Church do so, but (what may be held by some persons as more weighty and authoritative than ecclesiastical formularies) the same is the case with several Acts of Parliament and other civil documents[e]. If it be contended that the

[d] The author is indebted for this passage, and to much on this subject, to an Article in the Church Quarterly Rev., January, 1879, p. 261.

[e] Such as 25 Henry VIII. c. xxi.; 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1; 1 Edward VI. c. 1; 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 1; Proclamation of 1548; Answer to Princess Mary, 1551; 1 Elizabeth

word "Protestant" is meant to include all that body of Christian opinions which rejects the authority of the Papal Church, and refuses to accept Roman accretions on the purity of the Gospel; in one word, that it is equivalent to "non-papal," there is no difficulty in accepting the appellation; but it must be borne in mind that Rationalism also claims to be admitted under its shelter; that popular use applies the term equally to the negations of Agnosticism, to Churches which claim vestments and the "Mass" for their service, and Consubstantiation for their doctrine. "That man," said Burke (one of the ablest thinkers whom English literature can boast), "is certainly the most perfect *Protestant who protests against the whole Christian Religion.*"

We need only refer to the English Revolution to show how, in 1689, the Convocation of Canterbury refused to accept the phrases "Protestant Religion" and "Protestant Church" as applied to the Church of England; they objected on the grounds that Socinians, Anabaptists, and Quakers styled themselves *Protestant* Churches, and also because "the Church of England would suffer diminution in being joined with foreign Protestant Churches[f]." It is evident that the term Protestant was not accepted by the

c. ii.; Proclamation against Sectaries; Queen's Declaration, 1569; Proclamation for Uniformity, 1604; 13 and 14 Charles II., &c. See Ch. Q. Rev., January, 1879, p. 299.

[f] Lathbury, Hist. of Convocation, p. 331.

Church at that time[5]. But it was the object of the Bishops whom the Dutch King William, and after him the first two Georges, appointed, to assimilate the Church of England as much as possible to the Protestant Communions of the Continent, to uncatholicize it, and to destroy the authority of the Church. Failing in their endeavours to level up Dissent to the Church, and to alter the Church's doctrine so as to comprehend Dissenters, they determined to lower the Church to Dissent. They knew very well that the Church in England was a true branch of the Catholic Church, but they did not think this a matter of any weight; so long as a man's life was proper, it did not signify what he believed. And when the authority of the Church ceased to be recognized, and the voice of Convocation was silenced, then people tried to make out a religion for themselves, and whilst some fell into Rationalism and infidelity, others, more happily, found under the name of Protestantism a shelter in Evangelicalism.

Like the Rationalists, the Evangelicals betook themselves to searching the Scriptures, but with more

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[5] There is no doubt it was used by English Divines as a mark of difference. Thus Bramhall, Works, ii. 86, says, "The Roman Church is not a Protestant Church, nor the *Protestant Church* a Roman Church." But then he shows the other side: "Both the one and the other may be homogeneous members of the Catholic Church. Their difference in essentials is but imaginary."

fortunate results, for they came to the exactly opposite conclusion to that arrived at by the Latitudinarians. Unlike them, they believed that everything depended upon a person's belief; in fact they taught that so long as a man has faith, he need not trouble himself about works, and some even went so far as to maintain that good works, instead of being a help, are rather a hindrance, to salvation.

We have spoken of the rise of the Evangelical School at the end of the eighteenth century: it would, perhaps, be more correct to say that at that time it assumed coherence and a systematic form. For many years previously to the rise of this later generation of Evangelicals, there had existed a body of Clergymen, whom for convenience' sake we shall call the earlier generation of Evangelicals, not numerous enough to be called a party, but scattered thinly here and there throughout the country, who were known, in contradistinction to the ordinary Church-and-State parson of the day, by the name of the "Serious Clergy." These Serious Clergy formed a link between the Methodists and the later Evangelical School; but they were not Methodists, probably they would have objected to be called by that name; and whilst some amongst the number were admirers, others were bitter opponents of John Wesley. Most of them lived on close terms of intimacy with the Countess of Huntingdon; their doctrine and discipline was much akin to that of Dissenters, and

why they were Churchmen rather than Dissenters it is difficult to say. They were pious, hard-working, some of them rather eccentric, Clergymen; and they introduced into the Church that decline in doctrine and ritual which prepared a recognized position for that later Evangelical party which for nearly half a century held an almost undisputed sway in the Church. Before, then, proceeding with the later Evangelical movement, we must give a short account of this earlier generation which, at a time when the Bishops and rulers of the Church were engaged in writing treatises against the infidels, and so were concerned with the intellectual side of Christianity, endeavoured to apply religion to the heart and to the life of the nation.

First in order must be mentioned James Hervey (1714—1758), who, when an Undergraduate of Lincoln College, Oxford, had been brought under the influence of John Wesley, and was one of the original Methodists, but who, like Whitfield, was a Calvinist, and wrote against him in the Calvinistic Controversy. Of his life, beyond that he was a zealous, earnest parish priest, there is little to record; but he is chiefly known as an author. In 1745 he published "Meditations and Contemplations[h];" and

[h] Dr. Johnson thought disapprovingly of the book, and parodied it in a "Meditation on a Pudding."—Boswell's Life of Johnson.

in 1755 "Theron and Aspasio[i]." The object of the latter work was to recommend the Calvinistic Theology, and Hervey submitted the manuscript to his spiritual father, John Wesley, for "correction and amendment." Wesley made corrections, such as he thought necessary, but probably they were of too sound a Church tone to suit Hervey, so he took no notice of them, and published the book as it was first written. The work, though one of no theological depth, and written in a very florid and inflated style, superseded a work of much higher stamp, Law's "Serious Call," and became popular with all classes, learned and unlearned, amongst the Evangelical party, and was translated into most European languages. In 1752 Hervey succeeded his father in the two livings of Weston Favell and Collingtree, and died of consumption brought on by overwork at the age of 45.

William Grimshaw (1708—1763), ("mad Grimshaw," as they called him), educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, became in 1742 perpetual curate of Haworth[j], in one of the wildest parts of the West Riding; where he continued for twenty years, until his death. He found the neighbouring parishes so neglected that he considered himself forced to become

[i] "Or a Series of Discourses on the most important Subjects."

[j] Haworth was the birthplace of Charlotte Brontë, where her father was the Incumbent.

an "itinerant;" he itinerated Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire; and not asking the permission of the parochial Clergy he preached in their parishes from five-and-twenty to thirty sermons a week.

Grimshaw, although a Calvinist, was an intimate friend and admirer of John Wesley; he admitted Methodists into his pulpit at Haworth, and allowed a Methodist chapel to be built in his parish. The Archbishop of York found it necessary to remonstrate with him on his irregularities[k]; he accordingly sent for him, but must have been rather surprised at the result of the interview. "How many communicants had you when you went to Haworth?" he asked. "Twelve, my Lord," was the answer. "How many have you now?" "In the winter 300 to 400, in the summer near to 1200[l]."

John Berridge (1716—1793), generally known as the Vicar of Everton, had been a Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. Like Grimshaw, he was noted for his eccentricities; when Mr. Thornton, a rich banker, remonstrated with him, Berridge told him that he

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[k] Bishop Ryle, in his account of Grimshaw, speaks of some Clergymen in the eighteenth century being "untouched by Bishops;" and says there is "something revolting in the idea of a *holy and zealous* Minister being persecuted for overstepping the bounds of ecclesiastical etiquette." But is it not equally revolting at the end of the nineteenth century?

[l] When on one occasion Whitfield celebrated in his church, it is said that thirty-five bottles of wine were consumed.

was born with a fool's cap on his head, which "was not as easy to get off as a night-cap." Like Grimshaw, he was an itinerant; he preached through Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and many parts of Hertfordshire, Essex, and Suffolk[m]. He began life as an Arminian, but turned a strong Calvinist, and bore a disgraceful part against John Wesley in the Calvinistic Controversy.

Berridge was a strong advocate of clerical celibacy. "No trap," he said, "was so mischievous to the field-preacher as wedlock; it is laid for him in every corner;" when he "thought of looking out for a Jezebel" himself, he was delivered by reading Jeremiah xvi. 2. He was very popular as a preacher, and people flocked to his church from every quarter in such numbers, that he was often obliged to adjourn to some neighbouring field, and by his sermons he frequently produced the same contagious convulsions as marked the preaching of John Wesley.

The neighbouring Clergy complained of his irregularities, and his Bishop thought fit to send for him; but Berridge was not so overawed by the sight of a Bishop as his Lordship expected. "Do you know who I am?" asked the Bishop. "Yes," was the answer, "poor sinful dust and ashes like myself[n]."

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[m] Berridge used to call himself an "itinerant pedlar," because "his Master employed him to serve near forty shops in the country."—Southey's Life of Wesley, p. 474.

[n] We cannot conclude this notice of Berridge without re-

Very unlike the two preceding was William Romaine (1714—1795), a man more refined, and grave even to a fault in his demeanour, to whose mind the very idea of itinerating would have been most distasteful. Son of one of the French Protestants who sought refuge in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was born at Hartlepool, became an Undergraduate first at Hertford College and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford; but though he must have been at Oxford during the early period of Methodism, there is no trace of his being connected with it. Being ordained Priest in 1738, he became Curate of Epsom. In 1739 he preached a sermon before the University of Oxford, in which he inveighed strongly against the view which Warburton maintained in his "Divine Legation," and declared that the doctrine of a future state is "expressly mentioned" and "insisted" upon in the Pentateuch. This brought him into collision with Warburton, who

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cording his epitaph in Everton churchyard, as written by himself:—

"Reader,
Art thou born again?
No salvation without a new birth.
I was born in sin, February, 1716,
Remained ignorant of my fallen state till 1730.
Lived proudly on Faith and Works till 1754,
Was admitted to Everton Vicarage 1751,
Fled to Jesus alone for refuge 1756.
Fell asleep in Christ, January 22, 1793."

wrote of him in his usually coarse style; his reputation, he said, was "worried by the vilest of Theologasters;" Mr. Romaine "is the scoundrel I wrote to from your house. But the poor devil has done his own business. His talents show him as by nature designed as a blunderbuss in Church Controversy, but his attack upon me being a proof charge, he burst in the going off. Never was a more execrable scoundrel[o]." In 1748 Romaine was chosen Lecturer of St. Botolph's, London, and the next year of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. At St. Dunstan's a circumstance occurred which deserves to be recorded. The Rector disputed Romaine's right to the pulpit, and used every endeavour to keep him from it. The case was brought before the King's Bench, and Lord Mansfield decided in Romaine's favour. Next the Churchwardens refused to open the church till the very moment the Lecture was commencing; they would not allow the Church to be lighted, and Romaine was frequently compelled to read the service and to preach by the light of a single candle which he held in his hand. Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, was obliged to interfere, and so Romaine was enabled to continue in this Lectureship till the end of his life. In 1750 he became assistant morning Preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square. Crowds of people were attracted to the church; the pew-holders complained to the Rector, Dr. Trebeck,

[o] Watson's Life of Warburton, p. 178.

of being inconvenienced by the pressure; and the Rector, who was jealous of his popularity and desirous to please the parishioners, gave Romaine notice to quit [p]. Soon afterwards he was appointed Gresham Professor of Astronomy [q]. Though a friend and admirer of John Wesley, he was a strong Calvinist, stronger than almost any other of the Evangelicals; he was one of Lady Huntingdon's preachers, and although no Antinomian himself, it is an undeniable fact that he made many Antinomians. In 1757 he incurred the wrath of the University of Oxford through two sermons which he preached in St. Mary's, on the "Lord our Righteousness," in which he set forth his views on the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and was in consequence never afterwards allowed to occupy the University Pulpit. In 1759 he became Curate and Morning Preacher at St. Olave's, Southwark, which post he exchanged for the Preachership of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. He was no doubt a man of some learning, and exercised a strong influence by his preaching and devotion to his work, and gained considerable repute as an author, but his temper was far from amiable; and whether from the unpopularity which this caused him, or from his Evangelical opinions, he did not obtain a Living till 1766, when, at fifty-two years of age, he was appointed,

[p] Ryle, Christian Leaders, p. 159.
[q] Life by Cadogan.

through the interest of Lady Huntingdon, to the Rectory of St. Anne's, Blackfriars.

Perhaps there is no hymn in the English language more popular than Toplady's "Rock of Ages." Augustus Montague Toplady (1740—1778), educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Dublin, was one in whose character was a strange admixture of good and evil: a man of pious life, a diligent Clergyman, an able preacher, and beloved in his parish; but a lack of Christian charity which showed itself in violent and coarse invectives, as shown in the Calvinistic Controversy[r], afterwards disgraced his pen and marred his usefulness. He was Vicar of Blagdon in Somersetshire, and was next appointed to Venn Ottery (with Harpford), a small parish near Sidmouth, in Devonshire; this Living he in 1768 exchanged for Broad Hembury, near Honiton. In 1775 he was compelled by ill-health to remove to London, where he became for a time preacher in a chapel near Leicester Square.

Whilst there is much to condemn in Toplady, it is only just that the exceptional circumstances of his life should be pleaded as some excuse. He was the only child of Major Toplady, who died at the siege of Carthagena, shortly after his birth, and whom he never saw; he himself never married; he was never a genial man, and went little into society, living much

[r] See vol. ii. p. 65.

amongst his books; and he died of decline at the early age of thirty-eight years.

A man of more saintly life than John William Fletcher (1729—1785) it is impossible to imagine. Voltaire, when challenged to produce a character as perfect as that of our Saviour, is reputed to have selected that of Fletcher. It was the same wherever he went. A doctor who visited him during a serious illness said, "I went to see a man that had one foot in the grave, but I found a man that had one foot in heaven." "Sir," said Mr. Venn of him, "he was a luminary;—a luminary did I say, he was a *Sun*. I have known all the great men for these fifty years, but none like him." "So unblamable a character in every respect," wrote John Wesley, "I have not found either in Europe or America; and I scarce expect to find another such on this side of eternity[s]." De la Flechiére, as his name was originally, was born at Nyon in Switzerland, and was educated for the Swiss ministry at Geneva, but being unable to subscribe the doctrine of Predestination in the sense required, he enlisted as a soldier in the Portuguese service; an accident, however, preventing him from joining his regiment, he came to England, where he was thoroughly Anglicised, and changed his name to that of Fletcher. Being at once attracted to the Methodist movement, he resolved, by the advice of Wesley, to

[s] Abbey and Overton, ii. 115.

take Orders in the English Church, and was, in 1757, ordained by the Bishop of Bangor. Shortly afterwards he was offered the Living of Dunham, which had, what would have been a recommendation to most other Clergymen, a small population and a good income, and was situated in a fine sporting country. Fletcher, however, thought differently, and refused the Living because the income was too large and the population too small. The Vicar of Madeley, which had double the population and only half the income, was only too glad to exchange to Dunham, and in 1760 Fletcher was appointed to Madeley, a parish thickly populated with colliers, where his influence was soon felt, and the number of communicants quickly increased from thirty to above a hundred. When, in 1768, Lady Huntingdon founded her college at Trevecca, she appointed Fletcher the Principal, and as he did not think it right to receive remuneration from two appointments, he held the office without stipend, travelling from Madeley to perform its duties. This post, however, he only held for three years, for being a staunch friend and follower of John Wesley, he took Wesley's side in the Calvinistic Controversy, and was obliged to resign his post at Trevecca, although he parted on friendly terms with Lady Huntingdon. Wesley desired him to take the government of his Society in case Fletcher survived him, but he died before Wesley in 1785.

There were two classes of irregular Clergy in the eighteenth century, the one consisting of Clergymen who occupied two or three Livings, who hunted and shot and neglected their parishes; the other of men who broke the letters of the Canons, who recognized the world for their parish, preached where they could do good, and converted thousands. Such an one was Daniel Rowlands, a Welshman (1713—1790), whose career deserves recording in order that it may be seen how opposed the Bishops of the day were to enthusiastic and hard-working Clergymen. From the time of his Ordination to 1760 Rowlands was Curate to his brother, who held the Livings of Llangeitho, Llancwnlle, and Llandewibrefi, but who being an easy-going kind of Clergyman, left everything to Daniel. People used to flock to his Church from every part of the principality, and thought nothing of travelling fifty or sixty miles to hear him preach, and his communicants frequently numbered 1500 or 2,000, sometimes even 2,500. So successful was his work that when his brother, the Rector, was drowned in 1760, the parishioners petitioned that Daniel might be appointed his successor; the Bishop of St. David's also wished to accede to their request; but his zeal had made him unpopular with his brother Clergy, who influenced the Bishop against him; and the Bishop took the unusual step of promoting the son over the father's head, so that Daniel now served as curate to his own son; and even this was only allowed him for three years,

for after that time the Bishop withdrew his licence altogether. Thus for nothing worse than zeal this exemplary Clergyman was cast adrift on the world by his Bishop, and although the Bishop afterwards repented, his repentance came too late; an immense population adhered to Rowlands, who lived on twenty-seven years longer regardless of, and untrammelled by, Bishops; but the mischief was done, and a rent was thus made in the Welsh Church which it was difficult to mend [t].

One of the most remarkable of the Evangelicals was Rowland Hill (1745—1833), a man of good family but of eccentric habits, and a Dissenter in all but name. The younger son of a baronet (Sir Rowland Hill), he was educated at Eton and became a Fellow Commoner of St. John's, Cambridge; Berridge at that time held the Living of Everton, whither Rowland Hill rode every Sunday, returning to college in time to attend the chapel service [u]. Even when an undergraduate, much to the disapproval of his father and of the University, he took to itinerant preaching; and he was proof against all opposition. His great admiration of the Countess of Huntingdon (although

[t] Ryle, 186. It is strange that Dr. Ryle, now a Bishop himself, has thought fit to adopt in 1886, towards a hard-working and devoted Clergyman, the same line of conduct of which he complains in the dark days of the eighteenth century.

[u] Sidney's Life of Rowland Hill.

he sometimes rebelled against the female Pope)[x], and his following "the Methodistical way," and preaching in conventicles, led to his being refused Ordination by six Bishops, but he was eventually ordained, in 1773, Deacon by Dr. Wills, the aged Bishop of Bath and Wells, and licensed to the curacy of Kingston, Somersetshire. He was ordained, he said, "without conditions," and availing himself of the freedom of his position he took to itinerant preaching; whether he preached in churches, or in unconsecrated buildings, or in the open air, was all one to him. He, however, never proceeded further than Deacon's Orders. On June 24, 1782, he laid the first stone of Surrey-street Chapel[y], which was opened for Divine Service in June, 1783. Here he always used the Prayer-Book, although Dissenters were admitted to the pulpit; and here he continued his ministrations till the end of his life. More a Dissenter than a Churchman, he was one of the most influential of the Evangelicals in awakening the slumbering spirit of the age. As a preacher he was almost as popular as Whitfield had been before him; his sermons, if somewhat rambling and disconnected, with frequently an incongruous vein of humour, were eminently practical, coming, as Sheridan described them, "red-hot from

[x] "Had I twenty bodies," he said, "I could like nineteen of them to run about for her."—Life, p. 66.

[y] Lord George Gordon contributed £50.

the heart." Dean Milner once said to him, "Mr. Hill, Mr. Hill, it is this slap-dash style of preaching, say what they will, that has done all the good [a]."

The early Evangelical movement took deeper root at Cambridge than it did at Oxford [a]; in the latter University the opposition to it culminated in the expulsion, on March 11, 1768, of six undergraduates of St. Edmund Hall [b]. There appears to have been a jumble of accusations brought against these young men. Some were accused of being low-born; Thomas Jones was accused by a gentleman of having been a barber, and having made him a periwig only two years before; others were deficient in the learned languages; some again had preached in conventicles, and were acquainted with Methodists, Venn, Newton, and especially Fletcher [c]. It was in vain that Dr. Dixon, Principal of the Hall, defended them before the Vice-Chancellor's Court; he never, he said, remembered "in his own or any other College

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[a] Sidney's Life of Rowland Hill, p. 112. Rowland Hill was the author of the beautiful hymn, "We sing His love who once was slain," &c.

[a] In 1740, however, an undergraduate of Cambridge named Graves was compelled by the authorities to renounce "the modern practice of the persons commonly called Methodists." —Wedgewood's Wesley.

[b] The names of these undergraduates deserve to be recorded:—Benjamin Kay, James Matthews, Thomas Jones, Thomas Grove, Erasmus Middleton, Joseph Skipman.

[c] Pietas Oxoniensis, p. 11.

six gentlemen whose lives were so exemplary, and who behaved themselves in a more humble, regular, peaceable manner[d]." The Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Durell) pronounced sentence of expulsion against them in the chapel of the Hall. So the prospects of these young men were (as far as the University was concerned) ruined, because they were, at the worst, indiscreet, at a time when "the moral state of the University was at its lowest ebb, and when swearing, gambling, and drunkenness were overlooked[e];" and it was shrewdly observed by one of the Heads of Houses who was present at the trial, that "as those six gentlemen were expelled for having too much religion, it would be very proper to enquire of some who had too little."

The difference between this early generation of Evangelicals and that Evangelical School which we are now about to describe is, that whilst the former were few in number, and only to be found here and there, the latter were (although certainly a small minority yet) for fifty years a power in the Church[f]. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a wave

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[d] Ibid., p. 5.

[e] Ibid.

[f] In 1738 John Wesley wrote to Peter Böhler that he knew only ten Clergymen in England who professed Evangelical opinions. Romaine says that when he began his ministry there were only six or seven, but before he died (1795) he could number 500.

of infidelity, the effects of which were most conspicuous in France, burst over Europe. In that country the errors of the Deists, which in the early part of the century had been effectually refuted in England, found a more congenial soil, and the excess of wickedness which accompanied the French Revolution, when the Bible was turned into ridicule, the Christian religion proscribed, and a new religion under the "Goddess of Reason" established in its place, showed only too plainly to what a degradation of sin and misery a nation may fall, when the Church is asleep and its voice silenced. At such a time the Evangelical party put on its armour, and assumed coherence and strength; it aroused England to a sense of its dangers and responsibilities, and to it the nation, humanly speaking, owed its salvation. Its principal members were (amongst the Clergy) the two Milners, Newton, Scott, Cecil, and Simeon; whilst chief among the laity were William Wilberforce, Hannah More, the two Thorntons of Clapham, and Lords Dartmouth and Teignmouth.

First of these we will take that intellectual giant, Isaac Milner (1751—1820), Dean of Carlisle, the only Clergyman of the Evangelical party who attained to high preferment in the Church. One of the three sons of a wool-stapler at Leeds, he graduated at Queens' College, Cambridge, coming out as Senior Wrangler, the examiners affixing to his name the word "Incomparabilis." In his undergraduate days

the governing body of Queens' was supposed to be anything but orthodox, and with their approval a petition against subscription to the XXXIX. Articles was drawn up and signed by all the undergraduates with the exception of Milner[g]; but after he became President, in 1778, the College was noted for the number of religious men who studied there. When William Wilberforce (whose father died before he was ten years old) took his degree at St. John's College, Cambridge, his grandfather, who had a pious horror of Methodism[h], selected Isaac Milner to be his travelling tutor. Milner was at that time remarkable for neither strictness in his conversation nor conduct; his religious principles were of the same Calvinistic nature then as afterwards; but William Wilberforce said they had as yet "little practical effect upon his conduct; he was free from every taint of vice, but not more attentive than others to religion;" ... "he appeared in all respects like an ordinary man of the world, mixing like myself in all companies, and joining as readily as others in the prevalent Sunday parties." From his aunt, who had been a disciple of Whitfield, young Wilberforce imbibed principles which some would call Evangelical, others Methodistical. The grandfather thought that the example of a man of the world like Milner would

[g] Milner's Life of Milner, p. 7.

[h] "Billy," he said, "shall travel with Milner, but if Billy turn Methodist, he shall not have a sixpence of mine."

be an antidote to his Methodistical propensities, but it had the contrary effect; Milner's religious principles were deeper than the grandfather expected, and under him the seeds of Methodism implanted by William's aunt grew rapidly and became permanent[i].

Isaac Milner was one of those men who could do everything[k]. When Johnson-worship was at its height, and the conversational throne was vacated by Johnson's death, none had so fair a title to succeed him as Isaac Milner. Whatever the company, and whatever the theme[l], at Carlisle, at Cambridge, in London, homage was done to his literary and intellectual rank, and his sonorous voice predominated over all other voices, and, like his lofty stature, vast girth, and full wig, defied all competition. Yet robust as he was, he was ever haunted by imaginary maladies and ideal dangers, shuddering at the east wind, and flying like a child to a place of refuge from a thunderstorm. His intellectual strength animated him to no arduous undertakings; he was a man of a naturally indolent temperament, and his health having been impaired by hard reading for his degree, his nervous system required the daily

[i] Wilberforce's Life, by his Sons, i. 75.

[k] Professor Carlyle said of him, "If he had undertaken to work a lace veil, he would have done it better than any female brought up to the business."

[l] "He was equally at home," says Sir James Stephen (vol. ii. 360), "on a steeple-chase and on Final Perseverance."

restorative of opium [m]. This no doubt increased his indolence; he never took a prominent part in the business of the University; his services were indeed invaluable to the Evangelical body, and he gave great umbrage to the orthodox party in supporting candidates holding the same views as himself; but he never exercised amongst the party at Cambridge or elsewhere the same influence as was enjoyed by Simeon.

In 1791, the year in which Dr. Vernon (afterwards, 1808—1847, Archbishop of York) was appointed to the Bishopric of Carlisle, Dr. Milner was raised to the Deanery of that See; for this appointment he was indebted to Dr. Pretyman, Bishop of Lincoln, who had been William Pitt's tutor at the University [n]. Milner never had been much of a Don at Cambridge, and at Carlisle he met with comparative success, and there his "social proclivities, in which he was an exception to the usual austerity of the Evangelicals, shone forth [o]."

We must now speak of a work which, whatever its faults, held a high place in the Evangelical lite-

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[m] Lord Teignmouth's Reminiscences, i. 63; also Life, 148.

[n] "The Bishop," he says, in a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, "espoused my cause with such a glow of friendship as is never to be forgotten."

[o] It was said no one enjoyed a joke more heartily, and he was by no means fastidious of the turn it took.—Lord Teignmouth, i. 62.

rature of the day, Milner's Church History, in which, however, his brother Joseph bore the principal part. Joseph Milner (1744—1797), a man second only in ability to his brother Isaac [p], graduated at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards became Head Master of the Grammar School, and eventually Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull. Joseph Milner was accused, as many religious people at that time were, of being a Methodist, but although no Methodist, he was thoroughly imbued with Calvinism. Milner's qualifications for writing a History of the Church were a respectable proficiency in classical knowledge; a far wider acquaintance with the Greek and Latin Fathers than was usual at that time and in this country [q]; an inflexible regard for truth, a style natural and perspicuous, and a devout and glowing reverence [r]. But in undertaking his work, he, perhaps without intending or even knowing it, viewed his subject through Calvinistic spectacles; and following on his plan with perfect honesty of purpose, and often rising above the narrowness of his party, he too frequently

[p] Henry Venn, on one of his itinerary visits to Huddersfield, said he was transported by hearing Joseph Milner preach, and pronounced him to be the ablest minister he had ever heard open his mouth for Christ.—Venn's Life, p. 159.

[q] "I read," says Dr. Newman, "Joseph Milner's Church History, and was nothing short of enamoured by the long extracts from St. Augustine and the other Fathers which I found there."—Apologia, 62.

[r] Stephen's Essays, ii. 157.

shows himself a partisan; he constantly keeps before his mind the idea which he labours to prove (but which he failed to prove simply because it was not the truth), that the narrow views of his party were, from the days of the Apostles to the time when his work ends, those of the Church [s]. Unfortunately the work was cut short by the untimely death of the author when he had brought it down only to the middle of the thirteenth century. It did not suffer, however, by falling into the hands of his brother, the Dean, a man more learned and equally capable with himself of performing the task; Dean Milner brought the work down to the middle of the sixteenth century, and destitute as the author was of the information most indispensable to the ecclesiastical historian, and one-sided as his portion of the work is, marred also by his ill-health and habitual indolence, enough of it remains to make us wish that it had been further prosecuted [t].

Several of the Evangelicals have given us minute

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[s] The accuracy of the work was acrimoniously attacked at the time; with reference to a critique in the *Christian Observer*, Dean Milner said, "I am ready to own that the first volume was not so correct as it should have been."—Dean Milner's Life, p. 292.

[t] "And Milner, estimable as he was for his piety, produced a work which merely proved how strangely he was destitute of the information most indispensable to the ecclesiastical historian."—Dowling's Introduction to the Critical Study of Eccl. Hist. (London, 1838.)

records of their bitter experiences before their conversion. Such a one is John Newton (1725—1807), the Nestor of the later Evangelicals, who at an early period of his life had lived in sins of no ordinary magnitude, and not only so, but who took delight in making others as bad as himself. His mother, a pious Dissenter, had, whilst she lived, given much religious instruction to him, but as she died when he was only seven years old, she could leave him only the inheritance of many blessings and many prayers, which in later years produced a rich harvest. After her death his education was neglected. In 1736, when he was only eleven years old, he commenced a seafaring life under his father, who was a master-mariner. His mother's example was not at first altogether forgotten. "I took up," he said, "and laid aside a religious profession three or four times before I was sixteen years old. I spent the greater part of the day in reading the Scriptures, in meditation, and in prayer. I fasted often, I even abstained from animal food for three months. I would hardly answer a question for fear of speaking an idle word." Newton was not the sort of man to paint himself in dark colours in order to gain the praise of humility and candour; no such morbid ambition ever affected his open nature. So we must receive as the literal truth what he tells us in plain and intelligible language. In the narrative of his own life he relates how he sunk socially

and morally into the deepest degradation. He became a slave-trader and a slave-trader's servant. Sick, despised, half-starved, half-naked, he dragged on his wretched existence; he sank into a bondage to his master only less deplorable than that of his captives. Then he turned infidel, and believing nothing, became a gross profligate, shunned and despised even by the negroes amongst whom his lot was cast; "and," he says, "I made it my study to tempt and seduce others upon every occasion."

He attributes his conversion to a terrible storm at sea in 1748; on March 21 of that year he says, "the Lord sent from on high and delivered me from deep waters." However dissolute his life had been, the devout cares of his mother had never been obliterated or forgotten. This he regards as the epoch of his reformation, and as the commencement of the happier portion of his life. He did not, however, as yet give over his seafaring life; and in one of his voyages he made the acquaintance in America of George Whitfield, "whose ministry," he says, "was exceedingly useful to him." He made four slave-trading voyages to the coast of Africa. After the completion of the first voyage he married, after the fourth he was compelled by sickness to exchange his mode of life for the office of a landing waiter in the custom-house of Liverpool. His leisure and solitary studies at Liverpool were most useful to him. In his early years he had cultivated a taste

for Latin; he now acquired sufficient knowledge of Greek to read the Greek Testament and the Septuagint, and became fairly versed in the Syriac language.

His course of studies at first landed him in Latitudinarianism. After making "some small attempts" as a Nonconformist "in a way of preaching and expounding," he thought of joining the Dissenters altogether; he esteemed it a slight matter with what outward ceremonial or in what Christian community he officiated. He was, however, persuaded by Richard Cecil, Lord Dartmouth, and Young[u], to seek ordination in the Church, and with the respectable stock of knowledge which he possessed, he applied in 1758, but unsuccessfully, to Dr. Gilbert, Archbishop of York, for ordination[x]. But in 1764 he was more successful, and was ordained, in his thirty-ninth year, by Dr. Green, Bishop of Lincoln, to the curacy of Olney, in Buckinghamshire[y], where the Vicar, who laboured under pecuniary difficulties, was non-resident. Amongst the parishioners of Olney were many Evangelicals, whom, although no Antinomian himself, his teaching certainly had the effect of

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[u] Author of "Night Thoughts."

[x] He was informed that his Grace was inflexible in supporting the rules and Canons of the Church.—Cecil's Memoirs of Newton, p. 327.

[y] The county was at that time in the immense Diocese of Lincoln.

making Antinomians; here he formed the acquaintance of many prominent members of the Evangelical school; here he, who had been the manager of a slave-factory, and the master of a slave-ship, became the intimate friend and the spiritual father of the poet Cowper, who hated the slave-trade with his whole soul, and denounced with passionate energy that accursed traffic; Cowper he employed at Olney as a kind of curate, and with him he composed the "Olney Hymns." At Olney he enjoyed the friendship of the Earl of Dartmouth, the Patron of the Living[z], and of John Thornton[a], a princely philanthropist who spent his life in doing good; and here Newton did much towards forming the mind of Thomas Scott, the Commentator.

After holding the Curacy of Olney for sixteen years, Newton acknowledged his inability to restrain the "gross licentiousness" of his followers, and was driven from the parish by the "incorrigible spirit prevailing in the parish which he had so long laboured to reform[b]." "Olney," said Scott, his suc-

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[z] Lord Dartmouth, Cowper in his "Truth" describes as "One who wears a Coronet and prays;" and to him Newton addressed the first twenty-six letters of his *Cardiphonia*.

[a] "Help the poor and needy," said Mr. Thornton to Newton; "I will steadily allow you £200 a year, and readily send whatever you have occasion to draw for more." In this manner Newton calculated that he spent at Olney more than £3,000.—Memoirs, p. 337.

[b] Stephen's Essays, ii. 106.

cessor, "when Newton left it swarmed with Antinomians, and when I, about a year after, became curate of the parish, most of the professors of the Gospel were Dissenters; and I had to attempt raising a new congregation in opposition to the Antinomians and anti-Churchmen which prevailed. In a population of 2,500, often not 100 got together of a Sunday morning until the end of the service, and half these from other places[c]." And Scott himself did not, by his own confession, do much better.

At the end of sixteen years Newton was, in 1779, presented by Mr. Thornton to the united Livings of St. Mary, Woolnoth, and St. Mary, Woolchurch, Lombard-street, where he resided till his death in 1807.

Thomas Scott (1747—1821) did not pass through quite such an awful ordeal as his spiritual father, John Newton. Thomas was the tenth child of a grazier of very moderate circumstances, living in Lincolnshire. Of his early life Scott says, "My own life at this period was as immoral as want of money, pride, and fear of temporal consequences would allow it[d]," except that he never learnt to swear. He was at first bound apprentice to an apothecary, but for "gross" misconduct (he does not tell us what it was, although he says it was of a nature by which his

[c] Letters, &c., of Rev. J. Scott.

[d] Life, by his Son, p. 9.

family "was dishonoured") he was dismissed at the end of two months. Being unable to obtain another situation in the same kind of business, he at the age of sixteen years returned home, and passed the nine following years in "the most laborious and dirty parts of the grazier's business." In hopes of escaping from such drudgery, he applied himself with vigour to the study of Latin and Greek; and, undeterred by the difficulties of his position, he mastered many classical and some theological books; amongst the last being a Socinian Commentary on the Bible, the poison of which he "drank greedily," and became "nearly a Socinian and Pelagian, and wholly an Arminian." In 1772 he was ordained Deacon to the curacy of Stoke in Buckinghamshire, and Priest in the following year. But there is no doubt that he continued to hold heretical views on the Trinity in the early years of his ministry, for when, in 1775, he was offered a Living which he much wished to accept, he felt obliged to refuse it from "a disbelief in the doctrine of the Trinity, of coequal Persons in the Unity of the Godhead," and from an aversion to the Athanasian Creed[a].

It was whilst he was curate at Stoke that a friend told him of Newton, whom he described as a "Methodist and an enthusiast in a very high degree." "I wish," he said, "you would come over and hear

[a] Life, p. 84.

him; he preaches on Thursday evening; come and dine with me and we will go to church together." Scott accordingly rode over to Olney; Newton preached extempore: he chose for his subject St. Paul's denunciation of Elymas the Sorcerer; Scott disliked the sermon: "I thought his doctrine abstruse, imaginative, and irrational, and his manners uncouth[f];" he was angry with the preacher, and he thought he directed the words "child of the devil, full of all subtlety and mischief," against himself.

Shortly afterwards, when Scott exchanged from the Curacy of Stoke to that of Ravenstone, he tried to get Newton into a controversy with him, which Newton, however, wisely declined. Scott soon conquered this pugnacious spirit, and betook himself to reading; he read Law's "Serious Call," Beveridge's Sermons, Burnet's "Pastoral Care," and Hervey's "Theron and Aspasio;" his mind became clearer, his Socinian doubts vanished; gradually the doctrines of Arminius made way for those of Calvin, and he embraced the same Evangelical doctrines as Newton, and eventually succeeded him at Olney. In his "Force of Truth," published in 1779, which Dr. Wilson, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, pronounced (an opinion in which he would find few to agree with him) to be second only and scarcely inferior to the "Confessions of Augustine," he gives the history of his

[f] Life, p. 63.

search after and his obtaining the truth, and how the Evangelical system gained possession of his mind.

At Olney, where Newton had been popular, Scott was unpopular. Cowper the poet never took kindly to him as he had to Newton; in fact Scott does not seem to have been popular at any of his curacies: "My congregations," he says, "were small: at Ravenstone on an average not more than forty; afterwards at Olney (though that town contained about 2,500 inhabitants) seldom above fifty or sixty." He was an unpopular and unsuccessful preacher; he had no claim whatever to eloquence; and was accused by Cowper, amongst others, of scolding people from the pulpit[g], and this fault was a great bar to his obtaining Church preferment. In 1785 he was appointed Chaplain at the Lock Hospital, where the same charge was brought against him; in 1802 he became Vicar of Aston Sandford, holding with it for a time the Chaplaincy of the Hospital, and at the former place he acted as tutor to candidates for missionary work under the Church Missionary Society.

Scott's line was not so much as a preacher as an author. In 1779 he published his "Force of Truth;" but his chief work was his Commentary, which was a great instrument for keeping alive Evangelical doctrines and interpretations, and which may contend

[g] Yet, he says, Cowper never heard him. It was one of Cowper's delusions that he ought not to go to public worship.—Scott's Life, p. 217.

with the Milners' History for the palm of Evangelical writings in the eighteenth century; a work which some may condemn as deficient in accurate scholarship, and bearing slight marks of critical and historical study; but we must bear in mind the difficulties under which it was written; with no well-stored libraries to which to refer, no learned scholars to advise with, but with scantily-filled shelves, under the pressure of poverty, and sometimes having to rock the cradle whilst he plied the pen [h]. We will here, however, quote the opinions on Scott's work pronounced by two men of widely different schools, the late John Mason Neale and Mr. Spurgeon. The former says of Scott's notes: "They are such as some men would not take the trouble of even thinking; many would not be at the pains of speaking; and—one should have imagined were not the fact as it is—such as no man would have condescended to write down." And this opinion Mr. Spurgeon, whilst calling it "far too severe," virtually endorses: "To me he has seldom given a thought, and I have almost discontinued consulting him. . . . I know I am talking heresy, but I cannot help saying that for a minister's use Scott is mere milk and water—good and trustworthy, but not solid enough in matter for full-grown men [i]."

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[h] Stoughton's Rel. in England, ii. 103.

[i] Commentaries and Commentators, p. 12.

Scott's professional income hardly exceeded £100 a year: for this miserable stipend he officiated four times every Sunday in two churches, between which he had to walk fourteen miles, and he ministered daily to a most disheartening class of patients in a hospital[k]. To add a few pounds to this narrow income was Scott's original idea in entering upon his Commentary; the work came out in weekly numbers, the first of which was published in 1788, the last in 1792; but notwithstanding its immense sale both here and in America, the Commentary was attended with so many difficulties and law expenses, that Scott died, as he had lived, a poor man. He derived from it an income of little more than £47, whilst through the bankruptcy of one publisher, and the cheating of another, he was involved in debt to the amount of about £1,200, from which he was rescued by the liberality of Charles Simeon and other friends, and eventually found himself the possessor of £2,000[l].

No name is more popular with the Evangelical party, and no one of the leaders of the party was more esteemed, than "Henry Venn[m]." Henry Venn

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[k] Abbey and Overton, ii. 205.

[l] The number of copies sold during his lifetime was 12,000 in England, and 25,250 in America; the retail price being, in the former country, £67,600, in the latter, £132,300.—Life of Scott, p. 295.

[m] The Venns have given an unbroken succession of Clergymen

(1725—1797 [n]), having graduated first at St. John's, and afterwards at Jesus, and becoming a Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, was brought up a High Churchman; he delighted in Law's "Serious Call," practised fasting, and tried to model his life on Law's "Christian Perfection." But it was through reading Law's books that he was induced to change his opinions; he thought Law did not lay sufficient stress upon Redemption: "Farewell such a guide," he exclaimed, "henceforward I will call no man master [o]." He changed from Arminianism to Calvinism; he even doubted whether an Arminian could be saved; even of good John Wesley he had doubts: "God is witness," he said, "how earnestly I wish, if it may consist with the Divine will, to touch the heart and open the eyes of that unhappy man."

Venn, however, though strongly opposed to Arminianism, was never an ultra-Calvinist, his Calvinism was that which the Evangelical school ultimately adopted rather than the extreme type of Whitfield and Romaine. Once, when he was asked about a young Clergyman, whether he was a Calvinist or

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to the Church for 200 years. It was Henry Venn's father, Richard Venn, Rector of St. Antholin's, London, who joined Bishop Gibson in opposition to Rundle's appointment to the Bishopric of Gloucester on account of his Deistical principles. —Venn's Life, by his Son, p. 7.

[n] Not to be confused with his son, John Venn, Rector of Clapham, and one of the "Clapham Sect."

[o] Life, p. 19.

Arminian, he replied, "I really do not know; he is a sincere disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that is of infinitely more importance than his being a disciple of Calvin or Arminius[p]."

Having been curate of Clapham, where he made the acquaintance of Mr. John Thornton, he, in 1759, became Vicar of Huddersfield, and in 1771 Rector of Yelling; he was also, until her secession, one of Lady Huntingdon's Preachers. Yelling being only twelve miles from Cambridge, Venn was enabled to make the acquaintance of Simeon, and also to imbue many of the undergraduates with his Evangelical doctrines. Although he excelled also as a preacher and a zealous Clergyman, it is as the author of the "Complete Duty of Man" that he will be best known to posterity. The work published in 1763, written from a Calvinistic point of view to counteract the "Whole Duty of Man" (a work written anonymously in the days of the Commonwealth, which was much in favour with the *orthodox* Churchmen), became next to, although intellectually far beneath, Law's "Serious Call," as one of the devotional books of the period[q].

Richard Cecil (1748—1810) was a man of larger

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[p] Memoirs of Venn, quoted by Abbey and Overton, ii. 185.

[q] Whitfield calls Venn "Valiant for the Truth, a son of Thunder." Warburton was not equally appreciative: "Venn and Whitfield," he said, "would make a proper as well as a pleasant figure in a couple of bear-skins."—Nich. Lit. An., v. 787.

mind and a better Churchman than those Evangelicals whom we have mentioned; he took a higher view of the Priesthood: "I never," he said, "choose to forget that I am a Priest," and he never would break through the orders and discipline of the Church. He did not believe, like most of his party, that everything the Roman Catholics did must of necessity be bad. "If," he said, "Papists have made too much of some things, Protestants have made too little. . . Because one party has exalted the Virgin Mary as a Divinity, the other can hardly think of that most highly favoured amongst women with common respect. The Papist puts the Apocrypha into his Canon; the Protestant will scarcely regard it as an ancient record. Papists consider grace as inseparable from the participation of the Sacraments; Protestants too often lose sight of them as instituted means of conveying grace."

Cecil's mother, who was a Dissenter and a religious person, tried to form the character of her son, but the religious impressions of his childhood wore away, and for a long time he lived in the depths of sin, hardening his conscience and reading infidel books until he became himself an avowed infidel, and not only so, but his delight was to instil the same principles into others, a work in which he was only too successful, and the fatal effects of which in his after life he tried in vain to efface[r]. A religious

[r] Memoir of the Rev. R. Cecil, pp. 8 and 124.

servant of his father, whom he says he "frequently cursed and reviled," took him, when he was only seventeen or eighteen years of age, to hear Whitfield, but neither his preaching nor the preaching of any one had effect upon him. From this course he was in time reclaimed by the example and pious admonitions of his mother. When he was about twenty years of age he became utterly sick of the vanity and disgusted with the folly of the world. He began by degrees to recover from his infidelity, and to amend his life. He thought there might be a Supreme Being; there was something elevating in the idea. But still the very notion of a Saviour and of the truth of the New Testament seemed degrading and repelled him[s]. Yet he attended church and listened to preachers: light shone in upon his mind; his temptation had been to believe that Christ Whom he had ridiculed "stands much in my way, and can form no part of my prayers;" he now believed (to use his own expression) that, so far from "standing in his way," He was "the only Way, the Truth, and the Life to all that come unto God by Him[t]."

His father, who had intended him for business, was surprised at this change, and resolved to send him to college. He said to him, "I tell you

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[s] Memoir of the Rev. R. Cecil, p. 128.

[t] Ibid., p. 9.

plainly that if you connect yourself with Dissenters or Sectaries I will do nothing for you living or dying; but if you choose regularly to go into the Church, I will not only bear the expense of a University, but I will buy you a Living on your entering into Orders[w]." At the age of twenty-five years Cecil matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, and in 1776 was ordained Deacon, and in the following year Priest. After holding two small Livings at Lewes, which brought in together about £80 a year, he was compelled through ill health to resign his Livings and to repair to London, where he held two Lectureships. In 1780 he entered upon a more important duty at Bedford Row Chapel (at that time the largest Church of England chapel in London), of which he became lessee, Mrs. Wilberforce, the aunt of William Wilberforce, offering to secure him against loss in case the chapel did not prosper[x]. This sphere of work again he was compelled by ill health to abandon, and he was appointed by Mr. Samuel Thornton to the Livings of Chobham and Bisley, which his father, John Thornton, had bought. These parishes he found sunk in ignorance and immorality: of the farmers not one could read; they crowded around him trying to make bargains for their tithes; and the parishioners generally were

[w] Ibid., p. 10.

[x] Ibid., p. 17.

Sabbath-breakers, and few amongst them Church-goers.

At Cambridge there was a small body of Evangelicals, headed by Dr. Milner, President of Queens' and Dean of Carlisle; Professor Jowett, Professor Farish, a Senior Wrangler, and Incumbent of Christ Church, Scholefield, and Simeon. Of all the Evangelicals Simeon stood first, and did the most enduring work. Charles Simeon (1758—1836) was born at Reading and educated at Eton, becoming a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Appointed in 1782 Vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge, and in 1790 Vice-Provost of King's, he held those posts till his death (a position at Cambridge similar to that occupied by Mr. Newman at Oxford), by which he had the opportunity of communicating his doctrines to the rising generation of Clergymen. At first he met with much opposition; he was accused (not without reason) of affectation and vanity[7], as well as of want of learning; but his earnest, personal religion soon startled alike the old Church-and-State High Churchmanship, and the decaying Low Church or Puritan party of the day; two or three evenings in the week he would hold meetings in

[7] A warm admirer says of him, "Candid friends were compelled to admit that he was not altogether clear of the sin of coxcombry."—Stephen's Essays, ii. 368.

his rooms at King's, similar to those held by the Methodists at Oxford, for study and prayer; for fifty years he remained at Cambridge a zealous preacher of his views, and he may be regarded as the founder of the modern Low Church party, who, after his name, were called "Simeonites." But Simeon was no Low Churchman in the latest and narrowest sense of the word; to him (to use his own words) the Church Prayers were "marrow and fatness;" and nothing could be plainer than his defence of the Baptismal Office, and his adherence to the Book of Common Prayer.

Simeon's life was singularly quiet and, to all outward appearances, uneventful, but in every part of the country he could point to Clergymen who had received from him a theological education, which could not at that time be otherwise obtained, who revered him as the guide of their youth and the counsellor of their maturer years.

In 1816 he set himself to purchasing the Livings of popular watering-places and large towns. In that year he wrote to Dean Milner: "Cheltenham, where there are ten thousand souls, besides ten thousand visitors, or nearly so, is mine. It was to be sold for £3,000, and I instantly secured it.... Mary-le-bone, where there are one hundred thousand souls, is also to be sold. The price named is £40,000. I hope to get it much under, and if it be sold so low as £25,000, it is mine at this moment."

Simeon was never raised to the Episcopate, but he held in his day a diocese in the hearts of men compared with which many an episcopal mitre waned; and he descended to his grave with the tears and blessings of the poor, and esteem and attachment alike of the learned and less learned members of the University.

Amongst the Clergy of the time one name more —we feel we are standing on holy ground, and shrink from associating it with any party, for it is a name which men of all parties are unanimous in extolling—one of the best that ever adorned the annals of the Church Catholic, remains to be recorded.

Henry Martyn (1781—1812), "the Missionary," the younger son of a "Captain" or mine-agent, was born at Truro, and educated at Truro Grammar School, which, under the mastership of Dr. Carden, attained much celebrity from the success of its pupils. At the age of fourteen he tried for a Scholarship at Corpus College, Oxford, but being unsuccessful he returned to school, and in 1797 entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, where in the previous year his friend and school-fellow Kempthorne, a disciple of Simeon, had taken his degree as Senior Wrangler. Having but little knowledge of mathematics, he began his University career by learning Euclid by heart, but under the tuition of Kempthorne the powers of his mind were developed, and in 1801 he came out

as Senior Wrangler, and first Smith's Prizeman, becoming in the following year Fellow of his College [1].

Martyn had proposed to devote himself to the Bar, but about this time he became a disciple and (as he himself would have said) a convert of Simeon, whom he heard speak of the nobleness of missionary life, to which a fresh impulse had lately been given by the Evangelical party. His thoughts were at once filled with the importance of the subject, and in 1802 he offered himself for work to the Church Missionary Society, which had been lately founded. In October, 1803, he was ordained Deacon, and acted as Simeon's curate at Cambridge, still looking forward to undertaking work amongst the heathen. The scheme for going out under the Church Missionary Society having fallen through, he, by the advice of Mr. Simeon and Mr. Wilberforce, and the active aid of Mr. Grant, accepted, in 1805, a Chaplaincy in the East India Company's Service. Having preached his last sermon in Holy Trinity Church, he left Cambridge on the Monday in Holy Week, the congregation, to show their grief at his loss, agreeing to spend in fasting and prayer the day on which he was to sail, and a crowd of undergraduates attending him to the outskirts of the town. On July 5, 1805, he sailed for India.

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[1] In 1802 he obtained the Members' Prize for Latin Prose.

The horrors of that voyage cannot be exaggerated. He was mercilessly ridiculed by all the officers on board, and not only ridiculed but hated: he, so gentle himself and opposed to censuring others, was compelled, in consequence of the profligacy of those on board, to denounce during several weeks the judgment of God upon sin. They consented to hear him preach, but he must say nothing about Hell. The next sermon he preached to them was from the text, "The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the people that forget God." It caused a momentary triumph; but the mockery continued to the end.

Arrived in Calcutta, he was strongly urged to remain there, and to minister to the English, but he had made up his mind to preach to the heathen; so in October, 1806, he started for his station at Dinapore, where he remained till the end of April, 1809; when, though suffering great pain from illness, he was ordered to Cawnpore, a distance of four hundred miles. The last stage from Allahabad lay across sandy plains, where the wind blew "like fire from a furnace," and occupied two days and two nights of incessant travelling, the misery of the journey being increased by the failure of provisions. No wonder he arrived more dead than alive.

It was at Cawnpore that he first preached to the heathen. He had complained that hitherto the work of translating the services into the language of the

East was left to Dissenters; so he set himself to studying the Oriental languages, and did this with such success that he was soon able to conduct the services amongst the natives in their vernacular language, and to establish schools for their instruction. He translated the whole of the New Testament into the Persian and Hindustanee languages; he translated the Psalms into German, the Gospels into Judæo-Persic, and the Prayer-Book into Hindustanee.

But his work among the heathen was a failure. In vain he proclaimed to the degraded souls before him the purity of the Divine love, the doctrine of the Creation, of the fall, and of Kedemption. "He was often interrupted with groans, hissings, cursings, blasphemies, and threatenings." Sometimes indeed they were not unmoved by his appeals, when he preached on the destruction of the Cities of the Plain; but to the last he never saw any fruit of his preaching[a].

On October 1, 1810, he left Cawnpore, where he had resided since 1809, for Calcutta, having first seen on the previous day the crowning of his work by the opening of the church for which he had long prayed and laboured. At Calcutta he remained between two and three months, and then left for Bombay, which, after a sojourn there of six weeks,

[a] Church Quarterly, October, 1881.

he left, and arrived, after a terrible journey from the coast, at Shiraz.

Broken down in health, seized with ague and fever, he found it necessary to seek a change of climate, and determined to return to England. On September 12, 1812, he started for Constantinople, a distance of 1,300 miles, attended by two Armenian servants and his Mihmander, named Hassan Aga. Suffering from the ague and fever, of which his cruel guide took no notice, he was hurried on at a gallop under the rays of a burning sun, through parching heat and drenching rain, nearly the whole distance from Tabriz to Tokat (about 250 miles from Constantinople), where he was obliged by utter prostration to stop, although the plague was raging in the place. On October 6, 1812, in the thirty-second year of his age, he wrote those memorable words in his Diary: "No horses being to be had, I had an unexpected repose. I sat in the orchard and thought with sweet comfort and peace of my God in solitude my company, my Friend, my Comforter. Oh! when shall time give place to eternity? When shall appear that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness? There—there shall in no wise enter in anything that defileth. None of that wickedness that has made men worse than wild beasts, none of those corruptions that add still more to the miseries of mortality, shall be seen or heard of any more." That was his last entry. Ten

days afterwards—either from the plague or from the weakness under which he had been so cruelly hurried on—he died, and was laid in the grave by strangers at Tokat.

Before parting with the Evangelicals, a word must be said about the lay members of the party, conspicuous amongst whom were William Wilberforce and Hannah More (1744—1833). Hannah More, setting herself against the prevalent vices of the aristocracy, amongst whom her talents secured her a place, published with great courage, and, it must be added, without losing popularity, many of her popular writings against the card-parties and concerts which were prevalent on Sunday. Her "Thoughts on the Manners of the Great," published in 1788, which ran through seven editions in a few months; the "Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World in 1790;" her Series of "Cheap Repository Tracts," the first of which appeared in 1796; her work amongst the poor, her schools for children and her instruction of adults, if they raised against her at the time some obloquy and the charge of Methodism, have gained for her an honourable record amongst the Evangelicals of the day.

The secular leader and the great ornament of the party was undoubtedly William Wilberforce (1759—1834), whose social position as a leading member of Parliament and a brilliant orator, his

friendship with William Pitt, his fame as a philanthropist, threw a halo over the Evangelicals; whilst his "Practical View," a work which, though laying claim to no deep theological learning, and taking for granted the side of religion which his own party advocated, exerted an influence second only to that of Law's "Serious Call[b]." He founded a Society, on the model of those of 1692, against the prevailing immorality of the day; the profanation of Sunday, swearing, drunkenness, licentious publications, and disorderly places of amusement were attacked; and by this means a reformation of manners was certainly effected amongst the middle and upper classes. The inheritor from his uncle of a large fortune, he devoted a fourth, and not unfrequently a third part, to offices of charity and piety, and there seems to have been scarcely any important scheme of benevolence at that time in which he did not interest himself. But it is chiefly through his opposition to the Slave-trade that Mr. Wilberforce's name has descended to posterity. First entering Parliament soon after he had reached his twenty-first year, he even at that early age expressed a hope that he should live to redress the wrongs of the Negro race. In 1789 he first brought forward a motion

[b] "Practical View of the prevailing religious System of professed Christians in the higher and middle classes of the Country contrasted with real Christianity."

for its abolition[c], and he persisted through life in his noble enterprise: he retired from Parliament in 1825; in 1834, the same year in which he died, but after his death, the law was enacted that "slavery should be utterly and for ever abolished and unlawful throughout the British colonies, possessions, and plantations abroad."

Besides these must be mentioned the names of John and Henry Thornton, men of great wealth and unbounded charity; Lord Dartmouth, Lord Teignmouth, who together with Wilberforce, the Thorntons and others, and under the auspices of John Venn, the Rector of the parish, formed the party which was known as the "Clapham Sect."

The Evangelical movement left some mark on the literature of that day. Cowper, the greatest English poet of the closing years of the eighteenth century, lent his talents to its service. It contributed the "Night Thoughts" of Young; it appeared in the writings of Hervey and Hannah More. The "Church History" of Milner; the "Biblical Commentary" of Scott; the "Cardiphonia" of Newton; the "Life of Faith" of Romaine; the "Force of Truth" of Scott; the "Village Dialogues" of Rowland Hill; Venn's

[c] John Wesley wrote to him in 1791: "Unless Divine grace has raised you up as *Athanasius contra mundum*, I see not how you could go through your glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villainy, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature."

"Complete Duty of Man;" Newton's "Olney Hymns;" the "Practical View" of Wilberforce—all these exercised a deep influence an a large section of the people, whilst Berridge and Toplady were hymn-writers[d].

[d] Lecky's Hist., ii. 616.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMPLETION OF TOLERATION.

THE grievances of the Dissenters under the Corporation and Test Acts had, ever since the days of Walpole[a], been laid to rest; but when Mr. Pitt came into power, the Dissenters, to whose support he was much indebted, thought that the time had arrived for urging the repeal of those Acts. Accordingly, a Committee of deputies solicited the support of Pitt and Fox, neither of whom was friendly to the penal laws, and on March 28, 1787, Mr. Beaufoy brought in a Bill for their repeal in the House of Commons. He set forth the grievances under which the Dissenters suffered, and he illustrated their injustice by the example of the philanthropist Howard, whom every kingdom in Europe except England would be proud to own, but who in this country was denied the common rights of a subject; he spoke of the degradation to religion when its highest ordinance was made a qualification for employment, as well as the painful position in which the Clergy were placed by the existing

[a] Parl. Hist., ix. 1046.

laws. Lord North opposed the repeal, and called the existing Acts "the great bulwark of the Constitution, to which they owed those inestimable blessings of freedom which they now enjoyed." Pitt, as we have said, was no friend of the penal laws; yielding, however, to the opinion of the Bishops, he opposed the motion: "Church and State," he said, "are united upon principles of expediency, and it concerns those to whom the well-being of the State is entrusted to take care that the Church be not rashly demolished." The motion, though supported by Fox, was defeated by 178 to 100 votes.

Another motion in the following year, also brought forward by Mr. Beaufoy, which had the support of Mr. Fox, met, although by a diminished majority (122 to 102 votes), with a similar fate. But a few days after the Bill had been introduced into the Commons, Lord Stanhope brought in a similar Bill in the House of Lords, for allowing all Nonconformists, except Roman Catholics, the free exercise of their religion; it was, however, defeated through the strong opposition of the Bishops[b]. But the diminished majority in the House of Commons gave encouragement to the Dissenters, who again in 1790, no longer under Mr. Beaufoy, but the vigorous

[b] Lord Stanhope warned the Bishops that "if they would not suffer him to load away their rubbish by cartfuls, he would endeavour to carry it off in wheelbarrows, and if that were resisted, he would take it away with a spade."—Hughes, iii. 406.

patronage of Fox, determined to submit their case to Parliament[c]. On March 2, Mr. Fox moved the repeal of the two Acts. The Dissenters, however, had chosen an inopportune time for urging their claims, and many of their own friends were now opposed to them. For the country had before it the excesses of the French Revolution, with which the Dissenters were known to sympathize; the Clergy, alarmed at the fall of the Gallican Church, renewed the cry of "the Church in danger;" the zeal exerted on both sides was wonderful, especially on the part of the Dissenters, to whom the grievance, through the annual Acts of Indemnity, was only nominal; the Press teemed with petitions on one side or the other; Burke represented in Parliament the danger from such writers as Price and Priestley, who, if they had the power, had certainly the will, to overthrow the Church, as had been done in France; so that now the motion was defeated by the decisive majority of 294 to 105 votes, or nearly three to one; the agitation for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts was not renewed for nearly forty years.

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[c] Priestley had in a letter to Mr. Pitt not only announced himself as the enemy of religious Establishments, but asserted that the Dissenters would demand also the repeal of the statute which made it blasphemy to impugn the Trinity; their rights to be married by their own ministers; to be admitted to the Universities without subscription; and the removal of Bishops from the House of Lords.

In 1791 an important motion was made in the Commons by Mr. Mitford, in behalf of a section of Roman Catholics described as "Protesting Catholic Dissenters[d]." He stated that in Burns' "Ecclesiastical Law" no fewer than seventy pages were filled with the penal statutes still in force against Roman Catholics. The present, he said, was the only reign (except the short one of James II.) since that of Elizabeth in which additional severities had not been enacted against them. Mr. Wyndham, who seconded the motion, spoke of the power of the Pope as a mere spectre, capable of frightening only in the dark. Mr. Fox objected that the proposed relief was too limited, and that it should be granted to all Roman Catholics alike, and Mr. Pitt spoke in favour of the abolition of the penal statutes. The Bill, however, passed the House of Commons in its original form.

But it was evident that such a limited provision, which included only "Protesting Roman Catholics," would never suit the Roman Catholics as a body. The oath which it was proposed under the Bill should be taken was also calculated to needlessly offend a large section of that community. It condemned, in language far stronger than Parliament

[d] A body of Roman Catholics who *protested* against certain tenets imputed to them, such as the Pope's power to excommunicate Princes, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance.

required, the deposing power of the Pope; and it condemned the spiritual powers of the Pope in this country in words to which no Roman Catholic could swear in their plain sense[e]. The limitation was strongly opposed, especially by the Bishops, in the House of Lords. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of St. David's, Peterborough, and Sarum, spoke on the occasion. Bishop Horsley of St. David's expressed an opinion that the long-wished for season for the abolition of the penal laws had arrived; but he objected to the partial provisions of the Bill as calculated to offend the Roman Catholic body, in whose favour it was designed. The Roman Catholics, he said, did not object to the principle that an oath which enunciated the doctrine that Princes excommunicated by the Pope of Rome might be deposed and murdered by their subjects, was impious, heretical, and damnable; but they did object to the harsh terms which the oath prescribed. The Bishop's speech had its effect, and his object was attained; the proposed oath was expunged, and an entirely different one substituted, which no Roman Catholic could scruple to take, and on taking which he was safe in the enjoyment of his property.

The most important part of the Act we may give in the words of Mr. Charles Butler, who drew it up.

[e] Amherst's Hist. of Cath. Emanc., i. 166.

It was enacted that in future no one shall be summoned to take the Oath of Supremacy prescribed by 1 William and Mary, s. 1, chap. viii., and George I. s. 2, chap. viii., or the declaration against Transubstantiation required by 25 Charles II.; that 1 William and Mary, s. 1, chap. ix., for removing Papists, or reputed Papists, from the cities of London and Westminster, shall not extend to Roman Catholics taking the appointed oath; and that no Peer of Great Britain or Ireland taking the oath shall be liable to be prosecuted for coming into his Majesty's presence, or into the court or house where his Majesty resides, under 30 Charles II. s. 2, chap. i. The Act also repeals the laws requiring the deeds and wills of Roman Catholics to be registered and enrolled; and dispenses persons acting as councillors at law, barristers, attorneys, clerks, or notaries, from taking the Oath of Supremacy, or the declaration against Transubstantiation, for acting in those capacities[f].

So that thenceforward the Law was opened to Roman Catholics as a profession, although the Army and Navy were still closed to them. From the passing of the Act there was an end to legal persecution for religious opinion in England; freedom of thought

[f] The first Roman Catholic called to the Bar after the passing of the Act was Mr. Charles Butler himself; the last Roman Catholic before him had been called in 1688.—Amherst's Hist. of Cath. Emanc., i. 184.

was now gained both for Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters. Civil disabilities remained, but their days also were numbered.

The condition of Ireland served to bring matters to a crisis. At the head of Irish grievances had always stood the Established Church, or the "Anglican Church" in that country. Ever since the Reformation, the profession of the Roman Catholic religion seems to have been regarded by the English legislature as a political crime, and the Roman Catholic religion one the members of which ought to be repressed by disqualifications, rather than as a system of Faith. Let a Roman Catholic be ever so good and religious a man, and ever so useful a member of society, yet if he followed his conscience, if he objected to attend the services of the Established Church, and attended instead the Mass in his own Church, he was guilty of an indictable offence.

The Established Church in Ireland held the invidious position of possessing nearly all the Church property, whilst fully three parts of the population belonged to another faith. We may form some idea of the religious feeling in Ireland, if we imagine what in the present day would be the state of Scotland as to loyalty and security, if the establishment of Episcopacy had been maintained in that country in the same manner in which Protestantism was upheld in Ireland, and if Presbyterians in Scotland had been

subjected to the same persecution, and suffered under the same bigotry, as their neighbours in Ireland. And yet there was much greater reason for retaining Episcopacy in Scotland than there was for maintaining Protestantism in Ireland; for when in 1690 Episcopacy was abolished in the former country, it was held in favour, except in the west of Scotland, by a vast majority of the people. History tells us enough of Presbyterianism to leave no doubt that, instead of being a pattern of loyalty and adding strength to the empire, Scotland would have been to England a source of weakness and division.

From the twelfth century to the Reformation Romanism had held undisputed sway in Ireland. But in 1537 Henry VIII. determined to introduce into that country the principles of the English Reformation. This course was directly opposed to the wishes of the people. The advocates of the Pope's supremacy were headed by the Primate of Ireland, Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, and a large portion of the Clergy; whilst the royal party found a zealous ally in George Brown, who had once been a Provincial of the Friars of St. Augustine, but who had turned an extreme Puritan, and was appointed by Henry the first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. His labours in the cause of the Reformation met with violent opposition in Ireland; in order to defeat the opposition he advised the King to carry out his scheme by means of the Irish Parliament; and a Parliament

was accordingly convened at Dublin in 1537, by which all opponents were silenced; the jurisdiction of the Pope was repudiated; all appeals and money payments to Rome were declared to be illegal; and the King took care, as he had done in England, to enrich himself by the possessions of the religious houses and the confiscation of their property.

After Henry had vested the property of the religious houses in the Crown, and established his own supremacy, he was contented with his work in Ireland; the individuality of the Irish Church became merged in that of the English; and the phrase "the Church of England and Ireland" came in vogue in 1538, and appears again soon afterwards in a Statute of Edward VI. In the reign of Queen Mary the Irish Bishops of the Reformed Church were removed from their Sees; an Irish Parliament met in Dublin in 1556; a Papal Bull was read re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion; the whole assembly of Lords and Commons listened to it on their knees, whilst a solemn *Te Deum* was sung in thankfulness of the event.

On the accession of Elizabeth, another Parliament was convened in 1560, and statutes, which met with considerable opposition, were passed reversing the acts of Mary; the Book of Common Prayer was again enforced; the reformed religion became once more the State religion of Ireland; and the Irish people were compelled to attend the services of the

Established Church[g]. The Pope, regarding these proceedings as schismatical, and the Irish Sees as uncanonically filled, appointed fresh Bishops to the Irish Sees; the Irish people conceived a bitter animosity against the English; the feeling was fostered by the Clergy; the number of malcontents rapidly increased, who did not scruple to invoke the aid of the Pope of Rome and of the King of France against their sovereign, and Ireland became a scene of war for thirty years.

The "Plantation of Ulster" in the early part of the seventeenth century greatly added to the Protestant population in Ireland; but as that province was largely peopled by Scotch Presbyterians and Puritan Dissenters of various denominations, it did not much add to the strength or justice of the Established Church. The Irish people in general never abandoned nor abated their attachment to the Church of Rome, and only awaited the first opportunity of vindicating their rights by force of arms: the Irish rebellion of 1641, in which 150,000 of their Protestant opponents were massacred in cold blood, having for its object the extermination of the reformed religion, was quelled only in 1647, when the use of the Common Prayer was prohibited, only, however,

[g] It was said that in the reign of Elizabeth there were not more than sixty Protestants in Ireland.—Martineau, Hist. of England, i. 374.

to be exchanged for that of the Directory. The soldiers of Cromwell settled themselves upon the possessions of the Irish people, and the Act of Settlement conferred the transference of 7,800,000 acres of land from Irish Catholics to English Protestants. At the Restoration the religious breaches made by the Commonwealth were repaired, and the Protestant Bishops restored to their Sees, and in 1666 an Act of Uniformity was passed in the Irish Parliament, requiring assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer, a declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant, and against attempting to alter the government in Church and State. It was only natural that the Irish people should aim at recovering the possessions which they had lost under Cromwell, so at the first possible moment, during the short reign of James II., from whom they received manifest marks of favour, the Irish Parliament seized the opportunity of rescinding the Act of Settlement. The reign of William III. overthrew the last remnant of Roman Catholic ascendency in Ireland. By the Treaty of Limerick (1691) it was indeed stipulated that the Roman Catholics, upon submitting to the government, and taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, should enjoy the free exercise of their religion. But in direct violation of that solemn instrument was passed the barbarous Act for preventing the growth of popery, the germ of the Roman Catholic question, and the foundation and model of those oppressive statutes

which for more than a century agitated the country, shattered one government after another, and threatened to revolutionize the Empire.

This short epitome of Irish history is necessary to shew how intolerant of Romanism England had always been since the Reformation, and the necessity which existed for a change of laws which were both impolitic and unjust towards Roman Catholics. Whilst Ireland contained an estimated population of 4,000,000, of whom three parts were Roman Catholics, and of the remaining million only about a half were members of the Established Church; and, nevertheless, three fourths of the people, being Roman Catholics, were treated as aliens in their own country, there was no hope of quelling the disaffection of the Irish nation. Some slight relaxations had, it is true, from time to time been conceded to the Roman Catholics. A recent Roman Catholic writer remarks that the first indication of a movement on the part of government towards Roman Catholics occurred in the year 1771[h]. "This was the first instance in which the political existence of the Irish Catholics was acknowledged[i]." The second Act of concession was passed in the Irish Parliament in the year 1774, which permitted Irish Roman Catholics to testify their loyalty to George III. by

[h] Amherst's Hist. of Cath. Emanc., i. 50.

[i] The concession in 1771 by 11 and 12 George III. is scarcely worth alluding to, as it conferred no boon on the Irish people.

taking a prescribed oath; this Act, says the same author, "began the repeal of the penal laws . . ." and "was remarkable as being the first conciliatory measure since the Revolution." The next Relief Act was that of 1778, the precursor of the Gordon Riots[k]. A further concession was that important one made, as we have already seen, in 1791, by which the Law was opened as a profession to Roman Catholics. Another act of justice to the Roman Catholics was performed, when in 1793 a Bill was passed in the Irish Parliament allowing Roman Catholics to vote at elections, and to serve as officers in the army. And there was one more which we can record: the most liberal act of all (instituted, no doubt, by the political motive of leaving the Roman Catholic Clergy as little as possible in contact with foreign influence) was done for Ireland when in 1795 an annual grant was voted by the Irish Parliament, which, after the Union, was ratified by the united Parliament, towards the building and supporting a Roman Catholic College at Maynooth, for educating Irishmen for the Priesthood, in order to meet the necessity created by the destruction of Roman Catholic places of education in France during the French Revolution[l].

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[k] See vol. i. p. 437.

[l] A sum of £40,000 was granted in the first instance, and £8,000 every year afterwards.

Still the English government showed no signs of affording any extensive relief to the Roman Catholics, and such serious discontent began to manifest itself in Ireland, where secret connexions were formed between the French and the Irish Revolutionists, as to cause much well-grounded alarm in England.

It was at this critical juncture that Earl Fitzwilliam, whose appointment was peculiarly acceptable to the Irish people, became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He perceived that it was impossible, without incurring the greatest risks, any longer to defer the demands of the Irish people. With his approval, Mr. Grattan, a gentleman who enjoyed the confidence of the Roman Catholics, moved, on February 12, 1795, for, and with scarcely any opposition obtained, leave to bring in a Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholics. The joy and exultation expressed by the Roman Catholics on this occasion had never been equalled in Ireland, and all classes of the community joined in effusions of loyalty and attachment to the British government and nation. But the satisfaction was short-lived; two days after the motion was agreed to, intelligence was received in Ireland of the opposition of the English government, and Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, as having exceeded his instructions. The universal dissatisfaction of the Irish soon manifested itself in a very serious manner; disturbances arose which it required the military to put down, and from this period a deep and settled

spirit of discontent prevaded the nation. A series of outrages in Ireland which culminated in the rebellion of 1798, led to the conviction in England that Ireland could never peaceably be governed until it was united with Great Britain. On July 2, 1800, the Bill of Union of the two kingdoms received the Royal Assent in England; in Ireland the Royal Assent was given on August 1, and on the following day terminated the last session of the last Parliament of Ireland[m]. So far as the Church was affected, it was determined by the Act of Union that "the Church of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called the United Church of England and Ireland, and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united Church shall be and shall remain in full force for ever as the same are now by law established for the Church of England."

Mr. Pitt, who, before the Union was accomplished, had opposed Roman Catholic Emancipation, now saw the advisability of relieving the Roman Catholics from civil disabilities, and of granting to their Clergy a maintenance from the public funds. This would have produced a just and real union, but when he mentioned the scheme to the King, he was met with the most determined opposition. In vain Pitt pointed out to the King that there would be no danger to the

[m] Annual Register.

Church of England; that the political circumstances under which those exclusive laws were enacted were now changed; that there was no longer any Pretender aspiring to the throne; the King could not be brought to comprehend that Parliament, which enacted his coronation oath could absolve him from it; he could not understand that it was, in short, a contract terminable by the consent of the party which enforced it. Pitt found himself in a dilemma between the stubbornness of the King and an implied engagement by which he was bound to the Irish people, and resigned office; the King's old malady had returned, and when he became again master of the scanty faculties which he ever enjoyed, he found a Prime Minister after his own heart in Addington[n]. When Pitt returned to power in 1804 the King was mean enough to reproach him with having been the cause of his illness; and consented to his being Prime Minister only on the condition that he would not advocate the cause of the Roman Catholics.

For some time, therefore, their cause was allowed to rest. But in May, 1805, in consequence of a petition for relief from some of their body, a Bill was introduced by Lord Grenville into the House

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[n] The country appreciated the difference between the two men:—

"As London is to Paddington,
So is Pitt to Addington."

of Lords, and by Mr. Fox into the Commons, only, however, to be rejected in the former House by 178 to 49, and in the latter by 336 to 124 votes[o].

Pitt died on January 23, 1806, and on his death the ministry came to an end. Another ministry, under Lord Grenville as Prime Minister, and Fox as Leader of the House of Commons, was formed, which is commonly known as the "Ministry of all the Talents." Fox did not long survive his rival, but died on September 13 of the same year, 1806.

In 1807 an attempt made by the government to remedy another anomaly which existed led to their defeat, and eventually to the dissolution of Parliament. By an Act of the Irish Parliament in 1793, Roman Catholics in Ireland were allowed to vote at elections, to hold commissions in the army, and to attain to the highest ranks, excepting those of Commander-in-Chief, Master General of the Ordnance, and General on the Staff; whilst if their regiments were stationed in England, they were disqualified from serving in the army at all. To remedy this incongruity, Lord Howick moved, on March 5, 1807, for leave to bring in a Bill to allow all his Majesty's subjects serving in the army or navy, on taking an oath prescribed by Parliament,

[o] In the Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of St. Asaph spoke against the motion.

the free exercise of their religion. Mr. Perceval opposed the motion as being most dangerous; the Bill was, however, allowed to be read the first time; but the Cabinet was disunited on the question; the King was opposed to it; he tried to bind Lords Grenville and Howick never again to bring forward the measure; they refused to be thus bound, and a change of ministry was the consequence. Thus the Ministry of all the Talents fell, to be succeeded by the "No Popery Ministry," with the Duke of Portland as Prime Minister, and Mr. Perceval as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, being Secretary for Ireland, and a General Election soon followed. At the General Election, on the side of the Church the cry of "No Popery" and "the Church in danger" was raised; and the English Roman Catholics, on the other hand, published a document challenging any point on which Roman Catholics "maintain a single tenet inconsistent with the purest loyalty, or interfering in the slightest degree with any one duty which an Englishman owes to his God, his King, or his country."

In 1809 a "Catholic Committee" was formed in Ireland, with the view of "petitioning" for the restitution of full rights of citizens which the Irish nation considered to be their due. In December, 1809, the Duke of Portland, in consequence of ill-health, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Perceval. The

government did not object to receive petitions from Ireland, so on May 20, 1811, a petition for their relief was presented in the House of Commons by Mr. Grattan. He showed that there was nothing in the faith of the Roman Catholics, but only the treatment which they received, to cause disaffection to the government; he insisted that government has no right to establish an inquisition into the thoughts of men, or to punish a man purely on account of his religion; that the existing penal laws did not impose any religious creed; a man might be an Atheist or Deist; anything was sufficient so long as he was not a Roman Catholic. "They are excluded," he said, "from a seat in this House, from offices in the Bank, from the situation of Sheriff, from the best places at the Bar, from the highest stations in the Army, from any participation in the State; they are deprived of their civil liberties, they are galled by tithes, they are oppressed by their landlords: and what remedy do you offer them? Nothing." On June 18 the petition was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Donoughmore; the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Bathurst) alone of the Bishops supported it, regretting that he differed from his brethren; it was, however, rejected in the House of Commons by 146 to 83 votes, in the Lords by 121 to 62.

But the Irish did not any longer content themselves with petitioning; a standing Delegation was

formed; a committee of grievances, which sat weekly, imitated the forms of the House of Commons; the government became alarmed; the committee continued its sitting, sometimes to be dispersed by order of the magistrates; and on December 26, 1811, a set of resolutions was passed, expressing a determination not to submit in silence to the abuse of power which they accused the Irish government of exercising.

On May 11, 1812, Mr. Perceval was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons by Bellingham, and, after various attempts were made to form a new ministry, was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Liverpool, who held the office for fifteen years.

In 1812 the justice of their cause brought many friends over to the side of the Roman Catholics, and they in that year found a powerful ally in Mr. Canning, who, on June 22, made a motion in the House of Commons for their relief. He laid it down as a principle that "citizens of the same State, living under the same government, are entitled *primâ facie* to equal political rights and privileges," and his motion was carried by a majority of more than two to one[p]. A similar motion made by the Marquis Wellesley in the House of Lords on July 1 was defeated by only one vote; the usual supporters of the government were ranged on opposite sides; two royal Dukes voted on one

[p] 235 to 106.

side and three on the other; whilst the Bench of Bishops was also divided [q].

The case of the Irish Roman Catholics was again in 1812 brought before Parliament, and although the justice of annulling their restrictions was more liberally appreciated, yet the threatening attitude which they had lately taken up was thought to render concession unadvisable, and the motion was defeated, in the Lords by 162 to 79, and in the Commons by 229 to 135 votes.

On April 13, 1813, Mr. Grattan again brought in a Bill "to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects now labour." It proposed that it should be lawful for Roman Catholics to sit and vote in either House of Parliament on taking a declaration and oath, instead of the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and the declarations against Transubstantiation, and the invocation of Saints. It also proposed that on taking the oath and declaration Roman Catholics might vote for Members of Parliament, and exercise all civil and military posts,

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[q] 126 to 125. "I do not wish," said the Marquis Wellesley, "to speak with disrespect of that Protestant establishment in Ireland, for I know that the true state of the Church in Ireland in a very great degree consists of Bishops without Clergy, churches without Clergymen, and Clergymen without churches; parishes of considerable extent without Clergymen, church, or glebe."

except the offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper or Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal, or Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, and other chief governments in Ireland. A proviso was appended that nothing in the Act should extend to repeal any of the laws affecting the uniformity of public worship in the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland; or to make any change in the ecclesiastical judicature of the realm; or to enable a Roman Catholic to present to any ecclesiastical benefice. The Bill was read twice; but in the course of the debates so many alterations were made in it that it was declared "to be neither worthy the acceptance of the Catholics, nor of the further support of the friends of concession," and was consequently abandoned. A Bill was, however, passed in this Parliament allowing Roman Catholics to hold in England the same offices which they were allowed to hold in Ireland; and in 1817 they were allowed to hold Commissions in regiments serving in England, as they already did in regiments serving in Ireland.

We must now give some account of the progress of toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters. In 1811 a Society was formed, entitled "The Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty," the object being "to obtain the repeal of every penal law which prevented the complete enjoyment of religious liberty." The special reforms at which it aimed concerned the abolition of the Corporation

and Test Acts, the laws regarding Marriages, Burials, and the Universities; the Secretary remarking that the Society did not ask for the repeal of Church-rates, for the reason that they *were not considered any injustice to Dissenters*[r]. The Society quickly set itself to work, and in this manner the claims of the Dissenters were henceforward kept constantly before the public. The Protestant Society became a power in the State, and the Whig party thoroughly identified itself with it.

A mark of the growing feeling in favour of the toleration of Protestant Dissenters was shown in 1812. On July 12 in that year a Bill introduced by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons[s], and by Lord Liverpool in the House of Lords, for repealing "certain Acts relating to religious worship and assemblies and persons teaching and preaching therein," met with no opposition in either House, and passed into law[t]. In the following year a Bill,

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[r] Skeats, p. 559.

[s] In the debates in the House of Commons it was said that "as an Act of Toleration, it was certainly the most complete which had hitherto been passed in this country," and that it was scarcely possible for the principle of religious liberty to proceed further.

[t] The Acts repealed were the Conventicle and the Five Mile Acts; the number beyond the family allowed to assemble for worship at unregistered meetings was increased from five to twenty.

introduced by Mr. Smith, M.P. for Norwich, for removing the disabilities of the Unitarians, meeting with no opposition from the Ministers or Bishops, became law. Thus the principle of Toleration was extended to the Unitarians also, who thenceforward were placed on the same footing as other Protestant Dissenters.

The next important measure for the Relief of Dissenters was the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828, to which it had been known for some time no opposition would be made on the part of the Church. Lord John Russell, in introducing the Bill on February 26, pointed out the absurdity of continuing those Acts; the irritability they caused to Dissenters; the Acts of Indemnity which were passed annually; the variety of offences included under them, those of non-commissioned as well as commissioned officers, excisemen, tide-waiters, and even pedlars; the character of the penalties inflicted, not only disqualification from holding offices, but also incapacity to maintain suits at law, to act as guardians or executors, or to inherit a legacy; and lastly, a fine of £500. And beyond all these, there was the profanation done to religion by those Acts.

The Bill was opposed on the part of the government by Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Peel, the former of whom dwelt, but on very narrow grounds, on some imaginary injustice which would be inflicted on

Roman Catholics, if Protestant Dissenters received relief from this minor grievance, whilst they (the Roman Catholics) suffered under much severer enactments; and in this sentiment Lord Palmerston concurred. Mr. Brougham, in the conclusion of an able speech, said: "The sum and substance of the argument is this: if it be little for them to ask, it is little for us to give. By deciding this question in favour of the Dissenters we shall discharge our duty to our country, and to the Church Establishment, which those Acts profane."

The Bill having passed the House of Commons, was, on April 1, introduced by Lord Holland into the House of Lords. All the Bishops who spoke were in favour of the repeal. The Archbishop of York, speaking in his own name and in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "felt bound on every principle to vote for the repeal of Acts which had, he feared, led in too many instances to the profanation of the most sacred ordinance of our religion." The Bishops of Lincoln and Durham spoke to the same purpose; they thought that the Church had a right to demand some security, but that a Declaration would be as effectual as the religious Test, and less objectionable. "If the Declaration now proposed," said the Bishop of Chester, "be taken by a conscientious Dissenter, it will prevent him from endeavouring to injure the Establishment, and that is more than the Sacramental Test, if taken,

could effect; if it be taken by a person who does not conscientiously intend to observe it, that person would not be kept out of office by any test whatever."

The Duke of Wellington, who was now Prime Minister, stated that the government, finding a large majority in the House of Commons approved of it, accepted the Bill, as affording ample security to the Church, and calculated to improve rather than to impair the religious peace which the Church had long enjoyed. Lord Eldon pronounced it to be the virtual separation of Church and State; he said that he would rather suffer death than vote for it, and opposed it to the last. The Bill, however, received the Royal Assent on May 9, 1828, and so this long-vexed question was at length laid to rest.

Lord Eldon had said during the debates on the Corporation and Test Acts in the House of Lords, that concessions to Protestant Dissenters would soon be followed by concessions to the Roman Catholics. It was not long before his prediction was fulfilled, for in the following year (1829) the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act granted the same complete toleration to the Roman Catholics as had been in the previous year granted to the Protestants. The Duke of Wellington, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Peel, the Home Secretary, had long been distinguished by the opposition which was offered to the demands of the Roman Catholics. Great, therefore, was the sur-

prise, if not the contempt, of members when on the meeting of Parliament on February 5, 1829, the Royal Speech announced: "His Majesty recommends . . . that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of an Establishment in Church and State, with the maintenance of the Reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the Bishops and of the Clergy of this Realm, and of the Churches committed to their charge."

On February 4, the day before Parliament met, Mr. Peel wrote to the Chancellor of Oxford University, of which he was one of the Burgesses, that on account of his change of sentiments on one of the main grounds on which he had hitherto possessed the confidence of the University, he considered himself "bound to surrender to the University the trust which they have confided in me." The resignation of his seat was accepted, and on his offering himself for re-election he was defeated by a majority of 146 votes by Sir Robert Inglis. He was, however, immediately afterwards returned as M.P. for Westbury, and in that capacity moved, on March 5, "that the House resolves itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic sub-

jects." The Bill, after many violent debates, passed the third reading in the House of Commons on March 30, by a majority of 178 votes[a]; in the House of Lords the Archbishop of Canterbury moved that the Bill should be read that day six months; six other spiritual Peers, the Archbishops of York and Armagh, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Durham, and Oxford[x] spoke, the first five against, the last in favour of the Bill; on April 10, the Bill passed by a majority of 104 votes[y], and on April 13 received the reluctant assent of the King[z]. By this Act a Roman Catholic can be admitted into Parliament on his taking, instead of the Oath of Supremacy, one by which he binds himself to support the institutions of the State and not to injure the Church. Thenceforward Roman Catholics could enjoy all civil and municipal privileges, and hold any offices of state except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, or Viceroy of Ireland; nor could they dispense Church Patronage.

In 1833, Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists be-

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[a] 320 to 142.

[x] Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford; he died May 31, 1829, and was succeeded by Dr. Bagot.

[y] 213 against 109 votes.

[z] The Attorney-General, Sir Charles Wetherall, resigned, not being willing, as he expressed himself, to have any connexion with "the Scarlet individual whose seat is on the seven hills."

came admissible to Parliament on their making an affirmation instead of taking an oath[a].

In 1832 the Reform Bill was passed, Lord Grey, the Prime Minister, warning the Bishops of the danger of opposing the measure, in favour of which "the opinion of the people was fairly and unequivocally expressed." "Let them now," he said, "follow the prudent course. The eyes of the country were now upon them. He called upon them *to set their house in order* and prepare to meet the coming storm; to consider seriously what would be the opinion of the country should a measure, on which the nation had fixed its hope, be defeated by their votes."

Danger to the Church was evidently not far distant. The State of the Established Church in Ireland was radically and hopelessly bad. Throughout the eighteenth century the Church in Ireland had suffered under the blight which had affected its sister-branch in England; Irishmen were scarcely ever appointed to Irish Sees; Englishmen were almost always appointed to them, and frequently Englishmen who had a claim upon government, but were not considered good enough for England, were drafted off to Ireland. So the Church in Ireland went from bad to worse, mainly through the fault of its English Bishops. If the Bishops and Clergy had been of

[a] In 1858 Jews were admitted into Parliament.

the stamp and large-heartedness of good Bishop Jebb (1775—1833), there would in all probability not have been the necessity for the strong measures adopted by the English government. The Anglican Clergy in Ireland were frequently Latitudinarians and Low Churchmen, strongly opposed to the Roman Catholic Clergy, and in favour of Protestant Dissent. From first to last Bishop Jebb, first as Rector of Abington, and afterwards as Bishop, lived on the happiest terms with the Roman Catholic Bishops and their flocks. He was appointed, in 1823, to the Bishopric of Limerick; the Roman Catholic Bishop always honoured him and advised with him as a fellow-labourer in the Lord's Vineyard; and one of the last walks taken by Bishop Jebb (he was cut off, alas! in his fifty-ninth year), presented the noble sight of an Anglican Bishop and a Roman Priest walking arm-in-arm together, whilst the latter, on taking leave, bent his knee as to his ecclesiastical superior; and when Jebb was seized with his last illness, the same affectionate interest was felt by the Roman Catholic Clergy and Bishops, who desired the prayers of the congregation for "the good Bishop of Limerick [b]."

It was found by the census taken in that year that the population of Ireland in 1831 was 7,784,536, whilst the members of the Established Church could

[b] Foster's Life of Jebb, 323.

not fairly be estimated at more than 1,000,000[e]. Over this million there were set twenty-two Bishops, whilst in England there were only twenty-six Bishops to preside over not fewer than 8,000,000 members; in Ireland there were only 1,456 benefices, whilst in England there were 11,000.

When the Church had failed, it was evidently the duty of the government to interfere; thus much any idea of a connexion between Church and State involves. When a great injustice was done to its Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland, it was the duty of government to see that injustice removed. The constitutional plan doubtless was to summon Convocation, but an abnormal state of things existed. The Church had been asleep for more than a hundred years, and the difficulties of government and the circumstances of the times must be taken into consideration. The disease, no doubt owing in the first instance to the action of the State, had become chronic; Bishops had for so long a time been appointed with a view to their political opinions, and their aristocratical connexion, rather than for their ecclesiastical fitness, that the Church had settled down into a calm indifference. That the long suppression of Convocation was in a great degree attributable to the apathy of the Bishops, there can be little doubt; the Bishops were the slaves of the

[e] Speech of Lord Grey, July 17, 1883.

State, and did not use their influence with the ministries of the day; so the ministers thought little of the ecclesiastical character of the Bishops; and Convocation had slipped out of the memory of both Church and State. Could it be expected that a Reform Government, or indeed any other government at such a time, would take the initiative in the revival of Convocation? or was the opinion of the Bishops and of the Church worth having, which was certain to have been on one side? Did not justice require that that branch of the Catholic Church which had from the first been an alien branch in Ireland should at least be disestablished? if not the Roman branch of it be established in its place?

The government of the day determined to consolidate ten Irish Bishoprics with the remaining twelve[d]. Lord Grey pointed out in the House of Lords that there never had been a uniform number of Bishops in Ireland up to the time of the Union: sometimes they had numbered thirty, at other times they had fallen below the existing number; and but for an article in the Act of Union prescribing the number of Irish Bishops to sit in the House of Lords, the King might have regulated their number without

[d] The Diocese of Dromore with Down and Connor; Clogher with Armagh; Raphoe with Derry: Elphin with Ardagh and Kilmore; Clonfert with Killaloe; Killala with Tuam; Kildare with Dublin; Cork with Cloyne; Waterford with Cashel; Ossory with Ferns.

reference to Parliament at all. Lord Althorp, who introduced the Bill in the House of Commons, stated it as the intention of government to apply the proceeds realized from the reduction to such purposes as Parliament might think fit. This course was most objectionable. Sir Robert Inglis, Member for the University of Oxford, stated what in a normal state of things would have been the only proper course. He denied that Parliament had any right to interfere with the Church except through Convocation, or to touch Church property at all; it mattered little whether one See or ten were diminished, one was the same as many. He stated the undoubted fact that there never had been an endowment by the State of a single parish church; that Church property was held by titles older than any lay property in the land; the State never had granted property at any time to the Church, excepting a grant in the time of Queen Anne, and another a few years back for building churches.

This indefensible application of Church property was altered in Committee on the motion of Mr. Stanley*, who himself approved of the Bill, and it was arranged that the money available from the consolidated Sees should be paid to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to be applied to the augmentation of small livings, the building of churches and glebe-

* Afterwards Lord Derby.

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CHAPTER III.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN 1833.

AT the period with which we are now concerned, the zeal of the Church was almost wholly monopolized by the Evangelicals. Still, amongst those who were in contradistinction called the orthodox party, there were Clergymen who, if they did not reproduce the glories of the Augustan age, as it has been called, of Queen Anne, nor equal the theologians who had combated the Deists in the reign of the second George, yet as pious Clergymen did good service in their generation against the profanity of the day, or as able defenders of the faith.

First amongst these we shall instance Bishop Porteus, who although more identified than most of his brother Bishops with the Evangelical party, and sometimes denounced as a Methodist, never identified himself with any party, and cannot, more than ordinary Low Churchmen, be classed as a party man. Beilby Porteus (1731—1808), the youngest but one of nineteen children, was born at York, and graduated at Christ's College, Cambridge, as tenth Wrangler, and gained the second of the Chancellor's Medals on the first occasion that they

were awarded, and afterwards the Seatonian Prize for the best English poem on a sacred subject. After holding the Livings of Rucking and Wittersham in Kent, from which he exchanged to Hunton in the same county, he was, in 1762, appointed as his Chaplain by Archbishop Secker, who preferred him to a Prebend (which the Archbishop had chosen as his option) in Peterborough Cathedral, and in 1677 to the Rectory of Lambeth; in 1769 he became a Chaplain to the King, and soon afterwards Master of St. Cross Hospital, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and Provincial Dean of Canterbury. We have already seen him in 1772 an unsuccessful promoter of the revision of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Articles; in 1776 he was appointed to the See of Chester, and in 1787, on the death of Bishop Lowth, to London.

Whilst Bishop of Chester he bore a prominent part in matters which then engaged public attention. In the winter of 1780 a new species of dissipation and profaneness, in the shape of Sunday evening amusements, was started by a set of needy and profligate adventurers. One of these amusements was a Promenade held at Carlisle House in London; the other consisted of meetings in rooms, hired for the purpose, under the names of *Christian Societies*, *Religious Societies*, *Theological Societies*, &c. To the former the price of admission was three shillings, the ostensible purpose being to walk about and

converse, but the consequence was that the *Promenade* became a place of assignation for the most profligate characters in and about London. The business of the debating societies was the discussion of passages of Scripture, ladies and gentlemen proffering their doubts and receiving explanations, the result being that many people departed from them sceptics, if not confirmed unbelievers. Thus whilst the Promenade tended to destroy every moral sentiment, the debating societies extinguished every religious principle; and the two together threatened the worst consequence to public morals. The statute and common law being inadequate to stop the evil, Bishop Porteus obtained the drawing up by eminent lawyers of a Bill which was introduced in 1781 into the House of Commons by Mr. Mansfield, the Solicitor-General, under the title of "An Act for preventing certain abuses and profanations on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday;" which, after being strongly opposed in both Houses of Parliament, passed into law[a].

The necessity of taking further measures to check the increasing profligacy of the times was still apparent, and one of Porteus's first objects on being appointed to the See of London in 1787 was to promote a Society which had been set on foot in the previous year, called "The Society for enforcing

[a] Life of Porteus, p. 71.

the King's Proclamation against Immorality and Profaneness," of which he became Vice-President. The good effects of his exertion were immediate and important; many useful Acts of Parliament were obtained by means of the Society, many persons were prosecuted for disseminating licentious books, and a check was put on exhibiting licentious prints. In the suppression of the slave-trade and the civilization of the negroes; in the establishment of Sunday-schools, and the work of the Bible Society, of which he became Vice-President, he bore a conspicuous part; he built and endowed at his own expense a chapel at Sundridge, his summer place of residence; but Bishop Porteus stands out as a proof how even the best of the Bishops of that time lost sight of the nature and importance of his high office, for during his tenure of the See, which extended over twenty-one years, with a rapidly increasing population, not a single church was built in London, whilst he left behind him a princely fortune to a nephew [b].

Two theological writers, Dr. Paley and Bishop Watson, although both of them Latitudinarians, did good service to the Church in the defence of Christianity. Of these William Paley (1743—1805), after leading at Christ's College, Cambridge, for the first

[b] Bishop Porteus, when asked to preach a charity sermon, answered that he gave only one a year, and for that year it was bespoken.

two years of his undergraduate career, an idle and gay life, took to reading, and graduated as Senior Wrangler in 1763, becoming Fellow and Tutor of his College. In the Subscription Controversy of 1772, although he did not himself sign the Feathers Tavern Petition (he could not afford to keep a conscience, he said) yet he published an anonymous "Defence" of a pamphlet written by his friend, Dr. Law, who advocated that cause. Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, who was a Latitudinarian like himself, presented him in 1775 to the Rectory of Musgrave in Westmoreland, and after holding other unimportant preferments, Paley was collated in 1780 by the same patron to a Prebend in Carlisle Cathedral; in 1782 he became Archdeacon of Carlisle; and in 1784 Chancellor of the Diocese. In 1785 he published his greatest and most influential work, "The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy" (a work which at once became a text-book of the University of Cambridge), an enlargement of lectures he had previously delivered as Tutor of his College. In 1790 appeared his "Horæ Paulinæ[c]," with the view of showing from "undesigned coincidences" and the confirmation which one gives to the other, the improbability or impossibility of the New Testament being, as infidels of the time maintained, a

[c] "On the Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul, evinced by a comparison of the Epistles which bear his name with the Acts of the Apostles and with one another."

"cunningly devised fable." In 1794 he published his "View of the Evidences of Christianity," in which he refutes Hume's objections to miracles; and in 1802 his last great work, "Natural Theology[d]." If his works were not profoundly philosophical or strictly original (indeed he has been accused of plagiarism[e]) they were all defences of Christianity, and found favour in the eyes of more than one Bishop. Dr. Law was Paley's chief patron, but the Bishop of London made him a Prebendary of St. Paul's; the Bishop of Lincoln Sub-dean of that Cathedral, and the Bishop of Durham gave him the rich Living of Bishop Wearmouth. But certain outspoken expressions in the "Moral and Political Philosophy" regarding the foundations of civil authority, especially where he put the "Divine right of Kings" on the same footing as the "Divine right of Constables," found little favour at Court, and debarred him from the highest preferments in the Church[f].

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[d] "Or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity."

[e] It is certain that much for which Paley gained credit was simply copied out of Nieuwentyt (1654—1718), "L'Existence de Dieu démonstrée par les merveilles de la Nature," a work written in Dutch in 1715, but speedily translated into German, French, and English.

[f] Paley enjoyed the soubriquet of "Pigeon Paley," and when his name was submitted to George III. for a Bishopric, the King is said to have exclaimed, "What, what? Pigeon Paley, no, no."

The abuse of pluralities and non-residence that existed in the eighteenth century culminated in the case of Bishop Watson. Richard Watson (1737—1816), unfortunately for his own credit, published two volumes of "Anecdotes of his Life." In 1754 he was admitted a Sizar of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated as Second Wrangler; he himself tells us (and it was supposed at the time that there was some ground for the assertion) that he ought to have been Senior Wrangler. In 1764 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry, of which, he informs us, "I knew nothing at all;" and in 1771 Regius Professor of Divinity, for which, judging from his own account, he was equally unsuited. He tells us he was "much unconcerned about the opinions of Councils, Fathers, Churches, Bishops, and other men as little inspired" as himself; and "my mind was wholly unbiassed, and I had no prejudice against, no predilection for, the Church of England[6]." Having been Tutor at Cambridge to the Duke of Rutland, he was, through his interest, appointed in 1782 (by Lord Shelburne) to the See of Llandaff. In doctrine he was a Latitudinarian; he depreciated the Thirty-nine Articles, except such as condemned the Church of Rome; he considered that the Prayer-Book required revision; that the Athanasian Creed did not fairly represent the doctrine of the Gospels; he advocated the cause

[6] Anecdotes, i. 627.

of the Feathers Tavern petitioners; and acknowledged the Unitarians as Christians. He held the See of Llandaff for thirty-four years, but as there was no habitable residence, he never resided in his diocese; though his bishopric was the poorest of all, he boasts that he became the richest bishop on the bench, his income being made up to £2,000 a year by various Livings which he held; and we are told he "enjoyed all the emoluments of his stations and the fame arising from his writings in rural retirement at Calgarth Park, Westmoreland[h]." Dr. Watson speaks of the indignity of being "laid on the shelf." In 1806 he applied to Lord Grenville for the vacant See of St. Asaph, but he was unsuccessful, for that See was conferred on Dr. Cleaver, Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Randolph being at the same time translated from Oxford to Bangor. It is difficult to imagine how such a Bishop could have expected higher Church preferments; he was also a Whig (and it must be said to his credit that he was not careful to disguise his sentiments) during the long reign of Toryism. Still Dr. Watson, as a writer against infidelity, did much good in his generation. In 1776 Gibbon published the first volume of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," and in the same year Dr. Watson published the "Apology for Christianity," against the attack made on Christianity in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Gibbon's

[h] Nich. Lit. Anec., viii. 145.

volumes, in which Gibbon attributed the first successes of Christianity, not to the immediate action of God, but to secondary or natural causes.

A more violent and offensive opponent of Christianity than Thomas Paine (1737—1809), a man whose writings did much harm amongst the lower classes, and whose life was as bad as his writings, is not to be found in the annals of England. Born of Quaker parents, first a stay-maker, next an exciseman, then a tobacconist, and failing in all, he went, in 1774, to America, where he imbibed his democratic and rebellious sentiments, and, visiting Paris on the way home, returned to England in 1787, with the view of inculcating his dangerous principles in this country. His "Rights of Man," published in 1791, was a work subversive of all government and society; but the most indiscriminate attack on the Bible was made in the "Age of Reason," written in 1793 in the prison of the Luxemburg, to which he, barely escaping the guillotine, was committed by Robespierre [i]. This work was answered in 1796 by Bishop Wilson in "An Apology for the Bible [k]." Paine maintained that it was repugnant

[i] He had been elected a member of the National Convention of France, and was committed to prison for probably the best action of his life, viz. voting against the murder of the King.

[k] George III. said he "never knew the Bible needed an apology."

to the moral justice of God that infants should be doomed to destruction as they were in the case of the Canaanites. Bishop Watson met this with the answer that whatever happens in this world is a part of a great plan of which we see only a part and not the whole. The Canaanites were a wicked nation, and their destruction was only the counterpart of what we see daily in the natural world, earthquakes, floods, famines, which often destroy whole cities at a time with all classes of the people. The Bishop points out how the principal facts recorded in the Book of Genesis, such as the creation of the world, the Fall of Man, the Universal Deluge, are confirmed in the works of profane writers; but in his work, valuable as it is as refuting Paine's blasphemous teaching, Bishop Watson's Latitudinarian principles obtruded themselves, and he maintained that as the writers were left to their own knowledge, "contradictions as to historical facts" are not uncommonly found in the Sacred Writings.

The Trinitarian Controversy, which had so often under different phases broken out in the eighteenth century, cropped up again towards the end of it, in a still more open attack made by Dr. Priestley. In 1782 Dr. Priestley, a renowned natural philosopher, but a man who, according to his own confession, "came to embrace what is called the heterodox side of every question," by birth a Calvinist, afterwards an Arminian, and eventually a Socinian, published

a work entitled "The Corruptions of Christianity," which brought him into contact with Dr. Horsley, and led to the most important controversy that took place in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Samuel Horsley (1733—1806) graduated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and after holding several Livings, and being appointed by Bishop Lowth, whose Domestic Chaplain he was, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, attacked, in a sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on Good Friday, 1778, Dr. Priestley's opinions respecting man's free agency, to which Dr. Priestley replied. No further controversy ensued between them till Dr. Horsley became, in 1781, Archdeacon of St. Albans. A fresh controversy was, however, opened by "A Charge delivered to the Clergy of St. Albans," on May 22, 1783, in which Horsley attacked Priestley's work, the teaching of which may be best summed up in the Archdeacon's own words: According to Dr. Priestley, "The doctrine of the Trinity in the form in which it is now maintained, is no older than the Nicene Council[1], the result of a gradual corruption of the Gospel, which took its rise in an opinion first advanced in the second century by certain converts of the Platonic School, who, by expounding the beginning of St. John's Gospel by the Platonic doctrine of the Logos, ascribed a sort of secondary Divinity to our Saviour, affirming

[1] i.e. A.D. 325.

that He was no other than the second person in the Platonic Triad, who had assumed a human body to converse with men. Before this innovation, of which Justin Martyr is made the author, the faith of the whole Christian Church, but especially the Church of Jerusalem, was simply and strictly Unitarian. His immediate disciples conceived our Saviour to be a Man, whose existence commenced in the womb of the Virgin, and they thought Him in no respect an object of worship. The next succeeding race worshipped Him indeed, but had no higher notions of His Divinity than those which were maintained by the followers of Arius in the fourth century [m]."

Pamphlets and counter-pamphlets were published by each of the litigants, and much warmth was displayed on both sides; Horsley was a man of rough and haughty manners, and was not likely to spare an assailant, and Priestley, on his part, speaks of his antagonist as "this incorrigible dignitary." Ultimately, however, Horsley's vast and comprehensive learning, by exposing his manifest errors and ignorance, and proving his unfitness to write on such a subject, succeeded in entirely destroying Dr. Priestley's credit as a scholar and a theologian.

The triumph of Horsley was complete. On reading his letters to Priestley, Lord Chancellor Thurlow

[m] Dr. Priestley, however, denied that the Ante-Nicene Fathers were Arians, and Arians he considered to be as wrong as orthodox Trinitarians.

immediately obtained for him a stall at Gloucester, saying that "those who supported the Church should be supported by it." Priestley's opinions were not received with favour in his own country[n]. He had exercised his ministry in Birmingham from 1781 to 1791: in which latter year the memorable "Birmingham riots" occurred. A number of Unitarians, under the name of the "Unitarian Association," openly avowed the principles of the French Revolution, and prepared to celebrate with marks of honour the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, and advertisements to that effect were posted over Birmingham. On the appointed day the riots broke out; two meeting-houses, as well as Dr. Priestley's private dwelling and his household property, were destroyed, together with his valuable library and his philosophical apparatus, and the riots were not quelled until three troops of horse arrived: Dr. Priestley, in danger of his life, fled from Birmingham to London, but finding himself no better off there he emigrated in 1794 to America, where he died in 1804.

Dr. Horsley was, through the interest of his patron, Lord Thurlow, rewarded in 1788 with the Bishopric of St. David's[o]; his effective speech in May,

[n] A story is told of a barber who, whilst shaving him, discovering who he was, ran out of the room, declaring that he had seen a *cloven foot.*

[o] In the diocese of St. David's, we are told, he found many

1791, on the Roman Catholic Bill[p], further ingratiated him with the government, and procured his translation, in 1793, to the See of Rochester, with which (as was usual at that time) he held the Deanery of Westminster, and in 1802 he was appointed to the Bishopric of St. Asaph. Some incautious and intemperate expressions used by him in the House of Lords, added to a dictatorial manner and an irascible temper, occasioned much popular clamour against him, but few men of his age were more learned than he, and to Bishop Horsley, at the end of the eighteenth century, as to Dr. Bull at the end of the seventeenth, the Church owes a debt for the suppression of heretical views on the subject of the Trinity.

In the present day there is probably not a parish in England without its Sunday-school, but at the beginning of the present century Sunday-schools were still in their infancy. Robert Raikes (1735—1811), a printer at Gloucester, if not the founder of Sunday-schools, was, conjointly with a Clergyman, Mr. Stock, about 1781, their establisher, on a firmer and more permanent basis than had previously existed. Some business leading him into the suburbs of the city of Gloucester, inhabited by the lowest part of

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curates who did not receive more than £8 or £10 a year, which he increased to £15.

[p] See vol. ii. p. 169.

the people, he was struck with the wretched condition of the children playing in the streets. A woman to whom he spoke said to him, "Ah, Sir, could you take a view of this part of the town on Sunday, you would be shocked indeed; for then the street is filled with multitudes of these wretches, who, released that day from employment, spend their time in noise and riot, playing at 'chuck,' and cursing and swearing in a manner so horrid as to convey to any serious mind an idea of hell rather than any other place." This conversation suggested to him the idea of forming Sunday-schools for these children; he managed to procure four respectable women in the neighbourhood, to whom he paid a shilling each to instruct as many children as he could collect on Sunday in reading and the Church Catechism. Such was the origin of Sunday-schools. In a short period a visible improvement manifested itself amongst the children of Gloucester; the plan spread; in 1785 a Sunday-school Union was formed in London, with a mixed committee of Churchmen and Dissenters, which between that year and 1800 expended £4,000 on the establishment and support of Sunday-schools. In 1803 there were reported to this Society 7,125 Sunday-schools in Great Britain, having 88,860 teachers and 844,728 pupils, and even this report did not "include all the Sunday-schools in Great Britain, as there were many that did not report to the Sunday-school Union."

Whilst the so-called orthodox party were still asleep, the Evangelicals were at work, and to them, at the end of the last or commencement of the present century, four useful Societies, in which, however, little attention was paid to the Church's system, owed their foundation; these Societies are the Church Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Bible Society, and the British and Foreign School Society. The first of these in point of date was the Church Missionary Society, founded on April 12, 1799, entirely by the Evangelical party, amongst whom the names of Scott, the Secretary of the Society, Simeon, John Venn, Newton, Wilberforce, and Thornton are conspicuous. The operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were especially directed to "the plantations, colonies, and factories of this kingdom," whereas the new Society did not restrict itself to the boundaries of the British Empire, but had more direct reference to the evangelization of the heathen world, according to the doctrines of Holy Scripture, and the Articles and formularies of the reformed Church of England. Not succeeding in finding Clergymen of the Church of England willing to undertake the work of missionaries, the Committee thought themselves obliged to employ ministers of the Lutheran communion of Germany, so that twenty out of the first twenty-seven men sent out as missionaries were Germans, in Lutheran Orders.

In the same year the Religious Tract Society was established on the basis of united action between Churchmen and Dissenters, for the production and circulation of Evangelical literature. The founders of the Society made no secret of allowing that the Society was not confined to Churchmen, but included Dissenters also; and from the first the Committee of the Society has been composed of an equal number of Churchmen and Nonconformists, and one Secretary is always a Clergyman of the Church of England, the other being a Nonconformist minister.

The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804, with the object of circulating the Scriptures at the lowest possible price without note or comment. The Society received an impetus from a Welsh girl, who walked barefoot twenty-five miles over the mountains of Bala to buy a Bible in her native tongue. An idea was consequently mooted that a Society should be formed for supplying Bibles in the Welsh language; the next idea was, if Bibles were provided for Wales, why not for the whole empire? or the whole world, civilized or uncivilized? the result being that the British and Foreign Bible Society was established on March 7, 1804. The first President of the Society was Lord Teignmouth; it numbered amongst its Vice-Presidents Porteus, Bishop of London, Barrington of Durham, Burgess of Salisbury, and Fisher of Exeter; amongst its supporters

from the mass of the Clergy and
the Bishops ; lances were broken
tween Dean Milner and Dr. Mar
tween the President of the Socie
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existence was £691 ; since then it
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four millions of Bibles, Testament
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the names of Archbishops of York
and many representative Bishops
colonial, and missionary episcopate ;
six laymen annually elected on th
are foreigners residing in and near
the remaining thirty, half are memb
of England, and half members of otl
whilst Clergymen and Nonconformi

if members of the Society, are entitled to vote at all meetings of the Committee.

The education of the poor during the eighteenth century was almost exclusively confined to the Church of England; the great instrument of its promotion being the S.P.C.K., which ever since its foundation in 1698 had for one of its objects the secular and religious education of the poor. In 1704 there existed in and about London fifty-four schools maintaining 2,131 children, who were not only educated but clothed free of expense, and many of them afterwards apprenticed: in 1712 the number of schools in London and Westminster had increased to 117, and the number of children to 5,000. Such was the origin of the charity-schools which Addison described as the glory of the age in which he lived.

As the century advanced, an increasing interest was taken by Churchmen in the education of the poor. Many of the gentry educated children at their own expense. In some places the parish clerks were appointed to their posts on the condition that they should teach a certain number of poor children gratuitously; in some churches, and by some of the Colleges at Cambridge, the offertory was devoted to teaching and clothing the children of the poor. By the year 1741 nearly 2,000 charity-schools had been opened in Great Britain and Ireland. In 1755 there were in the charity-schools of London 3,548 boys and

1,901 girls[1]. But as the century advanced, the work, like every other good work, instead of progressing, retrograded: as the application of steam-power became more general, a larger demand for the children of the poor existed; the guardians took advantage of this demand, and not unfrequently apprenticed children of six and seven years of age to masters, who got as much work out of them as they could, but took no interest in their religious, secular, or moral education. Hannah More, herself the daughter of a village schoolmaster, describes such a state of depravity existing in the rural villages of her neighbourhood as is scarcely possible to imagine in a Christian country. At Wiveliscombe it was not to be expected that the Parson, who was drunk about six times a week, and who was "frequently prevented from preaching by two black eyes honestly earned in fighting[2]," would trouble himself much about the religious instruction of the poor. But Hannah More went to every house in her own parish, and found there nothing but ignorance and vice: "the farmers were as ignorant as the beasts that perish, and intoxicated every day before dinner;" no Clergyman had resided there for forty years, the Rector living at Oxford, and the Curate twelve miles off at Wells; out of a population of 2,000, a congregation num-

[1] Efforts of the S.P.C.K. in behalf of National Education.

[2] Roberts' Memoirs of Hannah More.

bering eight in the morning and twenty in the afternoon was considered satisfactory; there was only one Bible in the parish, and that was used to support a flower-pot; and the natural result of such a state of things was illustrated in a neighbouring parish, where, out of 108 children not one could tell Who made them. She set herself to producing a better state of things. But for instituting a school at Wedmore she was prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Court; a serious charge was made against her schoolmaster; he had committed an unpardonable crime; and "had been heard to pray extempore *in private*." Still Hannah More's schools, as well as Robert Raikes' Sunday-schools, showed what could be done by perseverance, and within seven years of their institution her schools numbered between 1,600 and 1,700 children, and the whole district was reformed.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century an impetus was given to education both by the Church and Dissenters through means of the rival systems of Mr. Lancaster and Dr. Bell. Which of these two was the first to introduce into England the monitorial system, that is, the system of teaching children by children, matters little[t]. Dr. Andrew Bell (1753—1832), however, when a chaplain in India, had introduced that system in 1792 into the schools at Madras, and what was hence called "the Madras System"

[t] It caused, however, a serious controversy at the time.

was afterwards adopted in England. Joseph Lancaster was a Quaker and a shoemaker in Southwark, and he commenced to teach the children of his neighbourhood, whilst he was himself plying his trade. Lancaster's schools soon became an institution in the country, and in 1808 "The Lancastrian Institution for Promoting the Education of the Poor" was formed. Bishops and Clergy, who were now beginning to awake to a sense of their duties, at first thought well of the Lancastrian schools, but when they found that the Church Catechism was not allowed to be taught in them, and that they were avowedly of an undenominational character, they withdrew, and determined themselves to establish Church schools; and in order to support schools on Dr. Bell's plan, the S.P.C.K. thought it desirable that a separate Society should undertake the education of the poor on the principles of the Church. The "National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" was consequently founded on October 16, 1811, and was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1817: and in 1814 the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded for the development of Mr. Lancaster's system. But the "British Schools" never gained the cordial support of Dissenters, and would soon have subsided had they not received the support of Churchmen, and they made comparatively little way till they received support from the State. A very

different fate attended the two originators of these rival schemes; Dr. Bell was rewarded with a Prebendal Stall in Westminster Abbey, whilst poor Lancaster was obliged to seek an asylum in his poverty in New York, where a scheme for his relief was just being set on foot, when he was run over and killed, in 1839.

The whole number of churches built or rebuilt throughout England and Wales during the first seven years of the present century was only twenty-four. In any parish any Dissenting layman or minister could, by paying sixpence, open a place of worship, provided it was not for the service of the Church of England. The great towns of England had grown up from villages, and the population had immensely increased, and yet literally nothing had been done for their spiritual benefit; the laws with which the State had fenced the parochial system were still in force. To build a church was a very complicated matter; to subdivide a parish required an Act of Parliament.

But whilst these impediments hampered the Church, the greatest freedom was allowed to Dissent. Licences for the erection of Dissenting places of worship, which during the first fourteen years of George I.'s reign averaged ninety per annum, increased to an average of 518 during the first fourteen years of this century, at the end of which time in 1881 parishes, containing a population of nearly five

millions, the churches and chapels belonging to the Church were only 2,553, capable of accommodating 1,856,000 persons, whilst in the same parishes the Dissenting chapels numbered 3,438[a].

But in 1818 the "Incorporated Church Building Society" was formed, and this Society determined, to a great extent, the whole revival of the Church's usefulness in the present century. Its effects were at once apparent, for whereas between 1801—1820 only 96, between 1821—1830 as many as 308 churches were consecrated.

Beyond those which have been already mentioned, there are few matters connected with the history of the Church between 1800—1833 which require to be noticed. We must, however, mention one Act of Parliament which bears very unfairly upon Clergymen as compared with Dissenting ministers. When by a verbal agreement made in 1664 between Archbishop Sheldon and Lord Chancellor Clarendon, Convocation surrendered the right of taxing the Clergy, the Clergy obtained the wholly inadequate recompense of voting for, and sitting as, Members of Parliament. The result was exactly what might have been expected; the State kept in its hands the right of taxing the Clergy, whilst in 1801 an Act of Parliament was passed, rendering them ineligible for the future to Parliament; Horne Tooke, who

[a] Q. R., x 54.

had been elected M.P. for Old Sarum, being the last Clergyman who enjoyed that privilege. The question was brought forward in the House of Commons whether a Clergyman was entitled to hold a seat in that House. Tooke pleaded that he had abandoned the Priesthood. Against this it was rightly urged that no Priest, having been once ordained, could divest himself of the Priesthood; but to the Bill of Exclusion Lord Thurlow objected on the ground that it was unconstitutional and unjust[x].

One of the proudest monuments of the English Church in the present day is its Colonial Episcopate. But before the present century England had in this respect little to be proud of. We have already seen how the American Revolution was a turning-point, and how before that time the State refused to allow the Church to consecrate Bishops for the Colonies. The State, rendered sensible of its duty by that rude shock, no longer refused to allow Bishops to be consecrated to its foreign possessions, but still the progress made was slow. In 1787 the first Colonial See, that of Nova Scotia, was founded, and Dr. Inglis appointed its Bishop; and that of Quebec was founded six years later (1793). For many years little further

[x] A Bill introduced in 1881 to repeal the Horne Tooke Act was defeated by 110 to 101 votes. Why Clergymen of the Church of England, many of whom have no Parochial cures, should be debarred from a privilege allowed to the ministers of all sects is unintelligible.

progress was made; but in 1814 the See of Calcutta was formed, and Dr. Middleton appointed Bishop; having held the See for nine years he was succeeded by Dr. Heber, whose usefulness was cut short by an accident in the forty-third year of his age and the third of his Episcopate[y]. In 1824 two more Bishoprics, viz. Jamaica and Barbadoes, were founded. These were the only Colonial Sees which had been established at the period with which we are now concerned[z].

We must now enquire into the state of the Church during this period.

In 1783 Archbishop Cornwallis died, and the Primacy was offered first to Bishop Lowth of London, and then to Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, and being refused by them was accepted by Dr. Moore, Bishop of Bangor. The new Archbishop was not, like so many of his episcopal brethren at the time, a hanger-on of the aristocracy; on the contrary, he was the son of a butcher; he was born at Gloucester, and graduated at Pembroke College,

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[y] Reginald Heber (1783—1826), educated at B.N.C., Oxford, and Fellow of All Souls. Author of probably the best Oxford Prize Poem (Palestine) that was ever written; Bampton Lecturer in 1815.

[z] Mr. William Wilberforce tried to persuade Mr. Hawkins, who was afterwards (in 1828) elected Provost of Oriel, to accept one of these new Sees. Hawkins refused, and the Sees were accepted by Drs. Lipscomb and Coleridge.

Oxford. He was not an active Archbishop; we are told "he avoided all activity but that of Christian piety and spiritual duty," but he took no steps "to inflame the minds of the Dissenters on the one hand, or to alarm the friends of orthodoxy on the other[a]." On the death of Archbishop Moore in 1805, the Prime Minister, William Pitt, wished to confer the Primacy on Dr. Pretyman, Bishop of Lincoln. When Pitt went into residence in 1773 at Pembroke College, Cambridge, Mr. Pretyman (whose name was afterwards exchanged for that of Tomline), who had taken his degree the year before as Senior Wrangler, became his private tutor; Pitt, in 1787, made his tutor Bishop of Lincoln; he also made him Dean of St. Paul's. The King, immediately he heard of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, rode off as quickly as possible to the Deanery of Windsor, where Dr. Manners Sutton, Bishop of Norwich and Dean of Windsor, was residing, and saluted him as "My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury." Pitt arrived at Windsor the following morning, and announced to the King his recommendation of Bishop Pretyman:

[a] Nich. Lit. An., viii. 95. A son of Archbishop Moore died in 1865. He held two sinecure Rectories. He was Rector of Hunton, Rector of Eynesford, Rector of Latchinford, Canon of Canterbury, and Registrar of the Will Office in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The gross total of his receipts from the Church was estimated at £753,647, and his average income was not less than £12,000.

the King, however, was obstinate, and exclaimed, "It can't be, it can't be; I have already wished Sutton joy, and he must go to Canterbury." Pitt was obliged to yield, and Bishop Manners Sutton became Primate of all England [b].

The inequality of Livings, and the insufficiency of the emoluments, rendered pluralities, and consequently non-residence, necessary. As some excuse for pluralities, it ought, perhaps, to be mentioned that from Elizabeth's reign downwards pluralities were defended by able and zealous men on the perfectly true plea that the average benefice was simply of insufficient value for a Clergyman of better social stamp and more liberal education than the mere hedge-parson—the "unpreaching Minister" of the Canons of 1604—and that it was dangerous to the best interests of religion to multiply this latter class of Clergymen, as must be the case where the poverty of endowments is general. The abolition of pluralities was impracticable in England till the improvements in agriculture largely raised the value of land, and with it the amount of payable tithe [c]. There were many valuable Livings, but they were too fre-

[b] Bishop Tomline wrote the life of his pupil, a work which Lord Macaulay stigmatized (Biog., 142) as the "worst biographical work of its size in the world."

[c] This is largely the cause of the social elevation of the Clergy from what they were from William III. to George II. inclusive.

quently regarded by patrons as provisions for younger sons, for tutors, and sometimes incapable persons, who were appointed, without the least regard to their fitness, for the performance of the smallest amount of perfunctory services.

At the commencement of the century the number of the parochial Clergy was about 10,300, whilst the number of parishes was about 10,600; in other words, there were three hundred parishes more than there were Clergy to fill them. Queen Anne's Bounty had done somewhat to improve the value of Livings, but until 1788 only Livings under £50 a year were entitled to receive any augmentation from it. So lately as 1802 there were 5,555 benefices (more than half the whole number) with a stipend of only £50 a year large numbers were as low as £30, and not half were provided with parsonage-houses.

If such was the poverty of benefices, and such the income of the Incumbents, what was the condition of the Curates? By an Act of Parliament passed in the twelfth year of Queen Anne, the Bishops were empowered to assign to any Curate a salary not less than £20 a year, nor more than £50, *in proportion to the greatness of the cure and to the value of the benefice.* "The Clergy," says a writer at the end of the seventeenth century, "are accounted by many as the dross and refuse of the Nation. Men think it a stain on their blood to place their sons in that function, and women are ashamed to marry with any

of them." If, as Adam Smith says[d], many of them received only twenty pounds, and most only forty pounds a year, their condition must have been miserable. Sydney Smith (1771—1845) draws a humourous picture of the Curate of the eighteenth century: "The poor working-man of God, a learned man in a hovel, with sermon and saucepans, lexicons and bacon, Hebrew books and ragged children; good and patient, a comforter and a teacher, the first and purest pauper in the hamlet, yet showing that in the midst of worldly misery he has the heart of a gentleman and the kindness of a pastor."

The degraded state of the Curates, whom non-resident Incumbents appointed to fill their places, had long been a scandal. By an Act of Parliament in the thirty-sixth year of George III., the maximum of a Curate's stipend was increased to £75 per annum, and the Bishop was empowered to assign to the Curate either the parsonage-house or £15 a year in lieu of it. But between Queen Anne's reign and the commencement of the present century, the price of the necessaries of life had at least trebled[d], and the maximum of £50 at the former period was equal to at least £150 at the latter period; so that the trifling advance in the Curate's stipend bore no proportion to the change in the value of money.

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[d] Vol. i. p. 298.

From returns made to the Bishops in 1810 the salaries of 1,766 Curates are known, a number sufficiently large to serve as a measure for the rest. From those returns we learn that of the 1,766 Curates there were :—

Above	£10	and under	£20	45.
„	20	„	30	191.
„	30	„	40	428.
„	40	„	50	333.
„	50	„	60	293.
„	60	„	70	208.
„	70	„	80	144.
„	80	„	90	51.
„	90	„	100	7.
„	100	„	110	41.
„	110	„	130	4.

The remainder consists of one with £250; in seventeen the Curate had the whole income; one had two-thirds; and three Curates had £275.

To remedy such a state of things, Lord Harrowby, in 1812, introduced a Bill into the House of Lords, which it might have been supposed everyone, especially the Bishops, would have thought reasonable, but which, wonderful to say, the Bishops, twenty-one of whom were themselves non-resident Incumbents of Livings, opposed. In the course of the debates Lord Redesdale severely reflected on the conduct of the Clergy; he said that they resided far from

their parishes; that to perform their duties they rode with indecent haste from one church to another; that they hurried through the service with unbecoming levity; and this carelessness he imputed to neglect on the part of the Bishops. Dr. Randolph, Bishop of London, moved as an amendment that the Bill be read that day three months; the Bill was also opposed by the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice, whilst the Bishops complained of it as an encroachment on the rights of the beneficed Clergy and private property. The third reading was, however, carried in the House of Lords by 37 to 22 votes, and in the Commons by 66 to 9 votes, and became law. The Bill enacted that no Curate should receive a smaller stipend than £80 a year, or the whole value of the Living if under that amount, and from £80 the stipend was to rise, according to the value of the Living, to £150. The licence of the Bishop was to specify the salary of the Curate.

A Bishopric was often considered as a suitable provision for the families or the tutors of the aristocracy. In 1815, of the two Archbishops one was the son, the other the grandson, of a Peer. Of the Bishops, one was a Peer in his own right; two were sons, one the grandson, two brothers, two near connexions of Peers; seven had been tutors in the families of noblemen, and two tutors of Ministers. So that out of twenty-six Prelates nineteen were

thus appointed. "The Church," as Sydney Smith said, "was dying of dignity."

And as they owed their position to their family connexion, so were they careful in providing for their own, Bishops not unfrequently regarding the property of the Church as a suitable means for providing marriage-portions for their sons and daughters. Amongst the family of one Archbishop were distributed sixteen Rectories, Vicarages, and Chaplaincies, besides Precentorships and other Cathedral dignities at his disposal; the son-in-law of one Bishop received (in about as many years) eight different preferments, valued at about £10,000 a year: whilst a daughter and a sister were scarcely less fortunate in their ecclesiastical alliances. The three sons of another Bishop were all appointed to dignities in his Cathedral; two of them held also four, and one two, other preferments. Another Bishop and his family enjoyed a revenue of £31,645 a year, two of his sons being Prebendaries of his Cathedral, whilst one of them held the valuable Rectory of one parish, the lay Rectory of another, was Examining Chaplain to his father, Registrar of the Diocese, and chief steward of several manors; and his son-in-law was Prebendary of his Cathedral and held four Livings[e].

[e] Black Book, published 1820. The book was written in no friendly spirit to the Church, but there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

"The abuse of pluralities and non-residence," writes Mr. Gladstone, "were at a height, which if not proved by statistical returns, it would now be scarcely possible to believe."

An excellent type of Bishop was Dr. Blomfield, but even him we find succumbing to the prevalent evil of the day. In 1820 he succeeded Bishop Mant in the valuable and onerous Living of St. Botolph's, London, worth £2,000 a year, with a population of 10,000. In 1824 he was promoted to the See of Chester, with which, although it was one of the most laborious of the Dioceses in England, and although he said that he found the Clergy at a very low ebb in every respect, he continued to hold the Living of St. Botolph's. In 1818 he had written a pamphlet on the "Residence and Duties of the Clergy, and the Salaries of Curates;" no doubt the Bishopric of Chester was a very poor one, but that would hardly be considered by a Clergyman in the present day as an excuse for holding two important posts, the duties of one or other of which he must necessarily neglect.

On the death of Dr. Manners Sutton, Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, was raised to the Primacy, to be succeeded in the See of London by Bishop Blomfield. In the latter Diocese Bishop Blomfield found a truly lamentable condition of things. In one parish, with 40,000 inhabitants, there was only one Clergyman; in four parishes with 166,000 there were eleven; in twenty others, with 739,000 inhab-

itants, there were forty-five; and in nine, with 230,000, there were nineteen Clergymen[f].

Bishop Bathurst held the See of Norwich from 1805 to 1837, dying at the age of ninety-three, but though he was called the "good Bishop Bathurst" his laxity in administering that Diocese is well known. When Bishop Stanley succeeded him, we are told that he found the general rule in the Diocese,—non-residence, pluralities, one service on Sunday, sometimes only one a fortnight, carelessness in admitting candidates to Holy Orders, imperfect administration of baptism and burials; and abuses reached such a pitch that in one instance fifteen churches were served by three brothers, so that the Diocese of Norwich became a by-word for laxity[g].

The Diocese of Lincoln extended from the Thames at Egham to the Humber, and contained the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, and part of Hertfordshire; and yet for two hundred years no Bishop of Lincoln resided within eighty miles of his Cathedral. When the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1836 proposed to transfer the county of Buckingham from the Diocese of Lincoln to that of Oxford, and Bishop Bagot of Oxford inquired of Dr. Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, as to the character of

[f] Second Report of Church Enquiry Commissioners.
[g] Stanley's Life of Edward and Catharine Stanley, p. 33.

the Buckinghamshire Clergy, the answer he received was, "Oh! top-boots and Exeter Hall[h]."

The Bishopric of Chester contained the largest population of any Diocese in England, with a stipend of only £1,400 a year, and an insufficient residence, and being considered too poor to be held without some other benefice, and only accepted as a stepping-stone to further preferment, little interest was taken in the performance of the Episcopal duties. This accounts for the state of the Diocese. Dr. Blomfield, when he was appointed to the See, found that hunting was one of the favourite recreations of the Clergy.

Meanwhile what were the Archdeacons (the Bishops' "eyes") doing? The Archdeacon used to be termed in the early Church the "oculus Episcopi," because he examined and reported to the Bishop the state of his Diocese; but from an early date in the eighteenth century the Archdeacons excused their shortcomings, on the ground that the Bishops were asleep, and therefore *their eyes were closed.*

A few words must be said about the state of the Church in Wales. The Bishops in that country were appointed without the slightest regard being paid to the people amongst whom their functions were to be exercised. The fact can hardly be credited that for a hundred and fifty years after the Revolution not a single Welshman was appointed to

[h] Bishop Wilberforce's Life, i. 341.

a Welsh Diocese; everything was done by government to continue that course of injustice to the Welsh people which had been carried on from a much earlier date, and to excite hatred against the Church. And what was the result? These alien Bishops lived, as a rule, apart from the people and Clergy over whom they were appointed, whilst the Welsh Clergy, neglected and despised, and without any Episcopal supervision, became a degenerate class utterly indifferent to their office, and in many cases leading grossly scandalous lives. But though many Welsh Bishops scarcely ever visited their Dioceses, and one Bishop (Hoadly) never even put his foot into his, with regard to the temporalities of the Church, they displayed the most rapacious nepotism, preferring to the highest appointments—to the Deaneries, the Canonries, and the richest Livings—their relations and friends who were unable to perform the services in the Welsh language.

But to return to England. What was the state of the parish churches? They stood, beautiful in their pristine architecture, but rendered paragons of ugliness by modern barbarism, or, as it was termed, modern improvement: the high roof cut down; the windows robbed of their stained glass, and even their tracery; the pillars cut away to make room for some hideous monument; the frescoes buried beneath a dozen coats of whitewash; naves, aisles, and even choirs choked up with hideous pews, prominent

amongst them standing that of the Squire, with its stove and easy-chair and drawn curtains, the owner, perhaps himself a Dissenter, sending his servants to occupy it and keep out intruders; the pulpit, with its red cushions, towering towards the ceiling, and often overhanging the altar; the reading-desk, with the head of the Curate scarcely visible above the books; the square box for the nasal-toned clerk; a basin the miserable substitute for a font; the meanly-dressed altar, the common receptacle of the hats and cloaks of the congregation; a common black bottle containing the wine for the Holy Communion, with some square pieces of bread placed on the Holy Table by the clerk before the service; the unused credence-table—everything in short bore witness to a state of carelessness and neglect, and desecration of God's House.

Here and there a new church was built. If a church would answer, then a joint-stock company sprung up; shares were issued; and the edifice was erected; not the solid temples built by our pious ancestors, not to be dissolved till doomsday; but thin, emaciated structures, without the least pretence to architecture, and resembling at the best huge meeting-houses, raised with as much alacrity, and upon the same principles, as a play-house [1].

Everything in fact was done at the minimum

[1] Q. R., November, 1829.

expense to the then present, and at the maximum expense to succeeding, generations; but everywhere was a condition of things gradually leading to decay, as witness the churches of fifty years ago, with their uneven pavements, their windows broken and stopped up anyhow so as to exclude the rain, and the walls and foundations covered or undermined with weeds and damp.

And how were the services of the Church conducted? The rubrics as to daily Matins and Evensong were almost universally disregarded; the churches were closed from Sunday to Sunday; the cathedrals indeed were still open, but where were the worshippers? "Instead of entering in," writes the Quarterly Review of those times[1], "the citizen avails himself of the excellent clock which is usually attached to them, sets his watch and hastens upon 'change, where the congregation is numerous and punctual, and where the theological speculations are apt to run in Shylock's vein pretty exclusively." The parish churches were opened on Sunday; then there took place before the silent congregation the duet between the parson and clerk; the prayers emphasised and the sermon monotoned; how to make the Church Services attractive seemed the last thing that occurred to the Parish Clergyman. Hymns as we have them now were a thing unknown; if they

[1] Ibid.

had selected the very kind of music most unfitted for a church, they would have selected the one they used[k]. Holy Communion was celebrated generally once a quarter, sometimes less frequently, at most once a month, and on those occasions there was the most unmeaning piece of ritual which any Church in Christendom ever tolerated; the Parson coming first into the church in a surplice to say the Prayers; then hurrying back to the vestry to array himself in the black-gown to preach the sermon; and then going back again into the vestry to fetch the surplice. In a word, if we can imagine a state of things where there was a general agreement to denude the Church services of everything which a religious service ought to have, and substitute everything which it ought not to have, we shall be able to form some idea of the appearance of our churches and the mode of conducting the services fifty years ago.

So incredible must such a state of things appear to those who have witnessed only the efficiency of the Church of the present day, that, in proof of it we will quote the words of Mr. Gladstone, who lived at the time and in the midst of the things which he describes[l]:—"It must be admitted that the state of things . . . was dishonouring to Christianity, disgraceful to the nation; disgraceful most of all to that much vaunted religious sentiment of the English

[k] See vol. i. p. 300.

[l] Gleanings, vol. vi. p. 118.

public, which in impenetrable somnolence endured it, and resented all interference with it. . . . The actual state of things as to worship was bad beyond all parallel known to me in experience or reading. . . . Our services were probably without a parallel in the world for their debasement. As they would have shocked a Brahmin or a Buddhist, so they could hardly have been endured in this country, had not the faculty of taste, and the perception of the seemly or unseemly, been as dead as the spirit of devotion. . . . But of the general tone of the services in the Church of England at that time I do not hesitate to say, it was such as when carefully considered would have shocked not only an earnest Christian of whatever communion, but any sincere believer in God; any one who held that there was a Creator and Governor of the world, and that His creatures ought to worship Him[m]."

We must bear in mind that this was the state of the Church during the fifty years of Evangelical ascendency. It would be unjust to attribute to the Evangelicals the whole blame of the lamentable condition of the Church, but pious, zealous, earnest men

[m] Enthusiasm was particularly dreaded. Archbishop Manners Sutton, in proposing at Lambeth the health of the newly-appointed Bishop of Calcutta, ended with the paternal advice: "Remember, my Lord Bishop, that your Primate on the day of your consecration defined your duty for you;—that duty is to put down enthusiasm and to preach the Gospel."

as they were, they were men neither of great intellect or learning so as to plan a scheme for themselves, or large-hearted enough to depart from the shibboleth of their party, so that a great part of the blame justly attaches to them. For those were days which required not only zeal and earnestness, but a large heart and a discerning and organizing intellect. The England of the early part of this century was not the England of a hundred years ago; Brindley had covered the land with canals, and Watt had developed the steam-engine; manufactures, which were to make England the workshop of the world, had taken the place of agriculture, as the staple of national industry; villages had swollen into towns and towns into cities.

It seems ungenerous narrowly to criticise and expose the defects of a movement which did much good, but which truth compels us to say did much harm also; for if on the one hand it infused vigour into the Church, and rendered the more Catholic revival (of which we shall treat in the next part) feasible, yet on the other it sanctioned a laxity of doctrine and discipline which, though thoroughly at variance with the spirit of our reformers, became deeply imbedded in the English constitution, and difficult to eradicate.

What, then, was the weak side of the Evangelical movement? It touched only one side of human nature, the devotional, to the exclusion of the artistic

and intellectual; it centred religion upon a few vital truths, omitting others which were of equal importance. In preaching the unworthiness of man, the all-sufficient Sacrifice of Christ, the need of Justification by Faith, they did well, but they magnified the Atonement at the expense of the Incarnation, and accordingly left out of sight the whole conception of the Church as a divine society—the repository and guardian of the sacramental life. From the time when the Church was mainly under their influence, the separation between religion and learning, which is so serious a characteristic of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, may be dated—a separation which the deeper learning and freer sympathy of our own day has only been able partially to heal [a].

The Evangelicals never troubled themselves (Mr. Simeon himself admitted it) about working on the lines, or according to the Rubrics, of the English Church. How the services were performed; in however slovenly a manner; however unfitted they might be to the grandeur of the House of God; as to whether they were of the type of the Conventicle or of the Rubrics, they troubled themselves not at all. And yet it has always been, and even now is, the character of Evangelicals to imagine that they only are right, and their opponents overwhelmed

[a] Wakeman, p. 113.

in darkness, and forms, and ceremonies. A member of the party once complained to a Bishop of a Clergyman overstepping the Rubrics. "Do you have Morning and Evening Prayer?" enquired the Bishop. "No," was the answer. "Then the less *you* say about Rubrics the better," was the Bishop's verdict.

At the beginning of the present century Dissent had been increasing with rapid strides. Sherlock states[o] that at the end of the seventeenth century Nonconformists of all kinds were only in proportion of one to twenty of the population, at the death of George I. they were only one to twenty-five. In 1736 there were only six meeting-houses in North Wales, and thirty-five in the whole Principality, against 850 churches. Then came the movements under Wesley and Whitfield which, drifting away gradually from the Church, reanimated the languishing Nonconformity of the country, in which they were powerfully aided by the influence of Lady Huntingdon, whose numerous chaplains seceded and formed Independent and Baptist congregations. Dr. Cleaver, Bishop of Chester, in his Charge of 1790, complains of those who "sought the Orders of our Church with a view to set at defiance her ordinances, to depreciate her ministry, and to seduce her members into their unhallowed Conventicles,under

[o] "Test Act Vindicated."

the arrogant and false pretensions of being themselves exclusively Gospel-preachers."

The Evangelical movement, by its neglect of the ordinances of the Church, and by confusing the boundary-lines between Church and Dissent, greatly increased the ranks of Nonconformity. Evangelical Clergymen frequently either became Dissenters themselves, or, as was sometimes the case, led their hearers to become Dissenters. No fewer than thirteen young men, converted by Venn, entered the Dissenting ministry, chiefly as Independents. Rowland Hill had his meeting-house in London, and only after being refused by six Bishops, obtained Deacon's Orders, and never attained to the Priesthood. Olney, with a population of 2,500, when Newton left it, swarmed with Antinomians and Dissenters[p]. Through such means, when by reason of the rapid growth of our manufactures, dense populations swarmed from the villages into the towns, and had not churches to attend nor Clergy to look after them, Dissent assumed vitality; the meeting-houses in Wales increased from thirty-five to one thousand; at the beginning of the nineteenth century Nonconformity had grown from one twenty-fifth to at least one fourth of the population; when George IV. became King, Dissent, not the Church, was in possession of the large towns; by the time

[p] Ch. Quarterly Review, July, 1877.

that William IV. succeeded him, Dissent had become a power in the State.

This, then, was the fatal drawback in the Evangelical movement, that except so far as it helped to revive religion in England, it did nothing to strengthen or reform the *Church;* that contrariwise it gave an enormous impetus to Dissent, virtually creating it in Wales and developing it everywhere else, so that under its reign and through its influence more *congregations* seceded from the Church of England than *individuals* seceded to Rome under the Oxford movement.

Another great drawback is, that the Evangelical school, with all its professed love for the Bible, has done much less than the other two schools of thought, in bulk and value, for Biblical study and exposition, even the Broad Church party far surpassing it in this respect [9]. And (what, perhaps, is stranger than all) this defect seems to be inherent in Church-of-England Evangelicalism; no book emanating from the Low Church party, from the time of Cranmer to the present day, has ever reached the dignity of an English Classic, or has ever secured continued esteem and demand amongst Evangelicals themselves. Every book of that school of theology which has held its ground has been of Dissenting

[9] This is attested by any bibliographical inquiry into modern English theological publications.

or foreign Protestant origin; so that whilst Scott's Commentary is virtually dead, and Girdlestone's quite so, Matthew Henry's is still in esteem.

If the Church of England was not entirely to lapse into Dissent, or something worse, a revival was absolutely necessary. The ground which had been lost had to be gained back foot by foot, and inch by inch. The very people who had caused, or at any rate who aided, Dissent, themselves began to complain that the Church was not popular, and that the mass of the poor were to be found in the meeting-houses; and then they began to find fault with the Prayer-Book, and to clamour for "Revision," whereas the fault lay at their own doors.

The strangest part of all is that the awakening of the Church from its slumbers had to be effected under the strongest opposition from the Evangelicals themselves. It certainly is a matter of wonder how people who were themselves notoriously breakers of every Rubric to which they objected, when it involved more trouble than they chose to undertake, should come forward as the accusers of their brethren, even if the latter did go beyond what the law actually required of them. If the Evangelicals did not like the practices of their opponents, why did not they put forward something better themselves? Let us look back only a few years, and call to mind how the carrying out the plainest rubrics of the Church and more decent matters of ritual—daily Matins and

Evensong, Saints'-day Services, more frequent Communions, the destruction of unsightly galleries, opening churches to rich and poor alike, the preaching in a surplice, the use of the Credence-table, the restoration of churches—how one and all of these had to be fought for under as strong and even stronger opposition than what was some years afterwards displayed against Ritualism, from the very people who rendered the reforms necessary.

PART IV.

THE AWAKENING OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

THE year 1830 ushered in a new era, and the commencement of that formidable struggle between the Church on the one hand and her political and dissenting opponents on the other, which has gone on with increasing force from that time to this. In that year the Whig party, which had been in opposition, with short intervals, for sixty years, became dominant in the State, and it was supposed that their return to power boded no good to the Church. The first blow had already come from a Tory Government. The repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, so strengthened the hands of the opponents of the Church that they seemed to have the world before them, and to have only to strike in order to destroy. A spirit of reform in the State was abroad, and reform in the State implied reform in the Church also. It was evident that when everything was in motion, the Church would not be suffered to stand still. A climax clearly was at hand; pamphlets and newspapers were violent in their cries against the Church. They attacked her on the ground of her enormous wealth, which they

exaggerated ten-fold; of her antiquated forms, of her state-monopolies, of the tithes of her Rectors, the Baronies of her Bishops, on Church-rates, and every part of the Establishment[a].

Events, such as the repeal of those Acts which we have mentioned, which appeared to good and wise men at the time to threaten the downfall of the Church, now that they are viewed in the light of history, are known to have been to her advantage. We may go further, and say that the repeal of those Acts was a happy circumstance, and that for a double reason: firstly, because it removed the only remaining causes of complaint which Nonconformity could reasonably entertain; and secondly, because it awoke the Church out of her slumbers, and showed her that unless she set her house in order, a worse thing would happen to her.

With the advent of the Whigs to power in 1830, a new phase in the relations between Church and State commenced. The Reform Bill of 1832, the consolidation by Parliament, in close succession after that event, of ten Irish Bishoprics, a threatened attack upon the Book of Common Prayer, showed unmistakably that danger was imminent, and warned the Church of what she might expect, if she should ever drift, as appeared only too probable, into a mere department of the State.

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[a] Mozley's Essays, ii. 26.

A complete change was made by the Reform Bill in the relations between Church and State[b]. The Sovereign, indeed, remained nominally in communion with the Church, but the advisers of the Crown, those in whom the highest Church appointments are vested, might thenceforward be her deadliest foes. The State was no longer in the position of a Church-member, but an alien from the Church; when Rationalists, and Deists, and Socinians, and Roman Catholics were admitted into Parliament and allowed to legislate for the Church, a very different condition of things was inaugurated from that which existed before, when Church and State were only different aspects of the same community. It will naturally be asked what were the Bishops doing in their place in Parliament when the Reform Bill was submitted to it. Unfortunately the Bishops, and not for the first time in the history of the Church, took the very opposite course to that which they ought to have taken. Instead of submitting to Parliament the altered relations which were created between Church and State by the admission into Parliament of Dissenters and the avowed enemies of the Church;

[b] The effect of the Reform Bill, the Duke of Wellington said, would be to transfer "power from one class of society, the gentlemen of England, professing the Faith of the Church of England, to another class of society, the shopkeepers, being dissenters from the Church, many of them Socinians, others Atheists."—Croker Papers, ii. 206.

instead of insisting upon this change as a reason why the same rights as were allowed to Dissenters—the right to regulate its own affairs and to legislate for itself—should be accorded to the Church; a claim so reasonable in itself, that, especially at a time when the votes were so sorely needed [c], government would have gladly granted it, they lost the golden opportunity, which never again returned; by the course they took they exasperated a government, already unfriendly, in its hostility to the Church; they disgusted those who were willing to be their friends; they increased the hostility of their enemies; the people showed their feelings by publicly insulting them — at Bristol the Bishop's Palace was burnt down—and far worst of all, the impression thenceforward became general, that the Church was opposed to and the Dissenters were the friends of the liberties of the people.

Danger also threatened the Church from within. The Evangelical party had lost the fervour of its first love, and had passed from its early zeal into unreality and indifference; the High Church party was still asleep; it is true that amongst the latter

[c] In the first Reform Bill of 1831, twenty-one Bishops, either personally or by proxy, voted against it, only one Bishop, Maltby of Chichester, voting for it, and one, Bathurst of Norwich, by proxy; and when the Bill was carried in 1832, it was only by nine votes in the House of Lords.

signs of amendment had already begun, but this was confined to one or two localities, and was far from general, and individual efforts were unable to stem the tide; the progress of decay was rapidly progressing; by both parties, Evangelical and orthodox, the claims of the Church, as a member of the Catholic Church of Christ, were disregarded; by the former they were unknown, or considered as hindrances of the spiritual life; by the latter as dormant traditions without any practical reality.

Moreover, a Latitudinarian spirit was again raising its head aloft, with which original thinking and a free handling of divine truth was the professed object. A new, or rather a revived, school of thought, regardless of what others had written before them, and even boasting that no authorities were consulted, set themselves to elaborate out of their own brains a system not founded on history, or the Fathers, or the Church, but on a half-digested German theory served up in a new form, professing to solve the highest mysteries of the Faith by some no less mysterious mode of reasoning, and frequently ending in the revival of an exploded heresy. Even at Oxford, the supposed seat of orthodoxy, and especially at Oriel, at that time intellectually the leading College in the University, a speculative liberalism had struck root: two opposing schools of thought were struggling together in the womb, and at one time it appeared only too probable that the

Latitudinarian school, under patronage of the State, would gain the victory.

The rise of Oriel[d] to the position of the first College in Oxford in academical repute, which dates from the Provostship of Dr. Eveleigh (1781—1814), and continued through that of Dr. Coplestone, marks an important era, not only in University life, but in the history of the Church. Till the time of Dr. Eveleigh, Fellows of Oriel and of other colleges were elected rather on the score of companionship than with any regard to learning; all the actual Fellows of a college had a vote, which they gave irresponsibly, the requisites being that the candidate should be born in a certain locality, be a Clergyman, and unmarried. So a hunting college would elect a hunting man, a drinking college a drinking man, but all colleges tried to select a "companionable one," on the same principle that a "clubable man" would be selected for a club in London where learning was of no consequence. Oriel, sooner than other colleges at Oxford, threw off the fondness for port-wine; the Oriel "tea-pot" took the place of the "orthodox two-bottle set[e];" it was the first college, and Dr. Eveleigh the first Provost, to set the example of throwing open its Fellowships, and electing its Fellows on the ground of intellectual qualifica-

[d] Mr. Mark Pattison says, Memoirs, p. 71, "from vulgar mediocrity." [e] Mozley's Remains.

tions; so that in this manner Oriel drew to itself the highest intellects at Oxford, and an Oriel Fellowship became the blue ribbon of the University.

With the new, or rather resuscitated School of Latitudinarian Theology, the parent of the modern Broad Church School, three principal names are connected, Whately, Arnold, and Hampden, all Fellows of Oriel; and of each of these we must give some brief notice before describing the Catholic revival which derived its birth from the same college.

Richard Whately (1787—1863) graduated at Oriel in 1808, taking a double Second Class, and gained the English Prize in 1810; in 1811 he was elected Fellow, and in 1815 became Tutor, of Oriel. In 1822 he was Bampton Lecturer, taking for his subject "The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Religion;" and in the same year he was appointed to the Rectory of Halesworth with Chediston in Suffolk, where by his writings he gained the reputation of being one of the rising men of the day. In 1825 he became Principal of St. Alban Hall, and in 1830 Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, which post, however, he held little more than one year, being in 1831, just at the time when the first Reform Bill had been rejected in the House of Lords, appointed by Lord Grey Archbishop of Dublin.

We must here pause a moment to introduce the name of one who at this time materially affected the theology of Oriel. In 1814, three years after Whately

became a Fellow of Oriel, Joseph Blanco White (1775—1841), born at Seville, a Spaniard on his mother's and an Irishman on his father's side, went to reside at Oxford, where he became a prominent member of the Oriel Common-room, and the intimate friend of Whately, Hampden, and others. He had, in 1799, been ordained Priest in the Roman Catholic Church, but shortly afterwards an intense disgust of the Roman Catholic Religion upset his restless mind, and in 1802 he fell into absolute unbelief. When the French army entered Spain in 1808, he determined to leave his native country and to take up his abode in England, which he accordingly did in 1810. A few particulars of his history, written by himself[s], show what a dangerous, even though agreeable, companion in a Common-room a man of Blanco White's sceptical mind, with his literary tastes and talents, must have been. The perusal of Paley's Natural Theology resuscitated for a time his belief in God; when he had been three years in this country he joined the English Church; in 1814 he subscribed the XXXIX. Articles, and claimed recognition as a Priest, and said the Prayers, for the first time in a Church of England church, at St. Mary's, Oxford. From the time he was admitted into the Oriel Common-room, his Latitudinarian principles were well

[s] "The Life of the Reverend Joseph Blanco White, written by himself, with portions of his Correspondence," 1845.

known, and although he became the friend of Whately, from the first Keble, who was also a member of the Common-room, avoided his society[h]. But this period of even such little-faith as he possessed was brief; in 1817 he was assailed with doubts on the Trinity and the Atonement; in 1818 he threw over the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity; he returned, however, to that belief in 1825, and in 1826 he again undertook the duty of an English Clergyman, and preached and celebrated the Holy Communion. But his final lapse, although gradual, was certain. His doubts first began with regard to the English Church, which he thought, in 1829, approximated too closely to that of Rome. Notwithstanding these doubts, however, Whately, when he was appointed in 1831 to the Archbishopric of Dublin, persuaded his friend Blanco White to accompany him, and to take up his residence at the Palace in Dublin. Blanco White's doubts, however, went on increasing; in 1833 he had reduced the Gospel to a "sublime simplicity;" he believed in Christ as "a moral King," but did not hold that His Divinity was essential; in 1835 he discarded the doctrine of the Trinity altogether, and declared himself a Unitarian; not wishing to compromise the Archbishop any longer, he left his roof and retired to Liverpool, where he died a Unitarian in 1841.

[h] Mozley's Essays, ii. 107

How far Blanco White influenced the opinions of the Latitudinarian party at Oxford it is impossible to say. Whately published, it is true, in 1821 a work[i] with the object of ridiculing the mode which sceptical writers adopted in the criticism of the Gospel narrative; but the soundness of his own teaching was questioned[k], and he was so dissatisfied with the Creeds and Ceremonies and Orders of the Church that he was quite prepared to sanction a violent change in the way of what was called a *liberal* Reformation.

What could have made Lord Grey recommend such a man as Whately for an Archbishopric? Every one was surprised at the appointment. What had he ever done to show his fitness for such a post? Confessedly a man of kind heart, he might have adorned almost any other station in life. His writings, bristling as they do with paradoxes, could scarcely have recommended him. His naturally rough and uncouth manners[l]; his habitual careless-

[i] Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte.

[k] He was "never by any means an eminently devout man, scarcely, perhaps, an orthodox man."—Q. R., 232, p. 534.

[l] Newman (*Apologia*, 73) gives a humorous illustration of this. Whately, much annoyed at the new Tractarian school, determined to play a trick on Newman; "he asked a set of the least intellectual men in Oxford and most fond of port to dinner; he made me one of the party; placed me between President This and President That, and then asked me, if I was proud of my friends?"

ness and apparent irreverence for the outward forms of religion; his inappreciation of the divine constitution and traditions of the Church; his constitutional indolence; his unconciliatory and unsympathetic disposition, entirely unfitted him for the office of a Bishop, an unfitness which was afterwards shown by his frequent unjust treatment of his Clergy for their loyalty to the Church. The appointment at such a time when the Church of Ireland was on its trial, added one more link to the chain of England's wrongs to Ireland, and hastened the downfall of the Established Church in that country.

Perhaps more than any one else, Dr. Thomas Arnold, who by his position as Head Master of Rugby, and by the influence which he exercised over his pupils, had unusual means of spreading his views, was the Founder of the Broad Church Party. From the time of the great Dr. Busby, who died in 1695, through the eighteenth century, good scholarship rather than good morals amongst his pupils was the general aim of the schoolmaster; elegant Latin and Greek scholarship was encouraged, but the schoolmaster's duty was thought to be little concerned in the training of a boy's character and conscience. Arnold was the first schoolmaster of his or probably of any other time. "The tone of our young men at our Universities," wrote Dr. Moberly, at that time Head Master of Winchester, "whether they came from Westminster, Eton, Rugby,

Harrow, or wherever else, was ***universally irreligious.*** . . . . . A striking change has come over our public schools. . . . . I am sure that to Dr. Arnold's personal, earnest simplicity of purpose, strength of character, power of influence, and piety, which none who ever came near him could mistake or question, the carrying out of this improvement is mainly attributable [m]."

Thomas Arnold (1795—1842), born at West Cowes, the seventh son of William Arnold, Collector of Customs, after being educated first at Westminster, and afterwards at Winchester, in his sixteenth year gained a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where one of his most intimate friends was John Taylor Coleridge, afterwards the Judge. As an undergraduate Arnold is described as being fond of, and vehement in, argument, extremely liberal in his views, somewhat to the astonishment of the Church and State Tories by whom he was surrounded. In 1814 he took a first class in Classics, and in 1815 he gained the Chancellor's Medal for an English Essay, and in 1817 that for a Latin Essay. In 1815 he was elected a Fellow of Oriel, and although he entertained scruples about certain parts of the XXXIX. Articles, he took Deacon's Orders in 1818, but did not proceed to Priest's Orders until after he was elected Head Master of Rugby, in December, 1827. The life and training of a schoolmaster does

[m] Stanley's Life of Arnold, i. 182.

not generally capacitate a man for a theologian, and Arnold proceeded on a theory that a mere grammar and dictionary knowledge of Greek was all that was required to make a man an authority on the doctrinal meaning of the Greek Testament. He interested himself much in the social and ecclesiastical questions of the day, and thought he ought to have as much authority when he went out into the world as he had in school. By this course he brought upon himself much unpopularity, and he tells us himself that he could not at all enter into an opponent's views. Against the Evangelicals and High Church party he was very bitter; "that Record," he said, "is a specimen of the party with their infinitely little minds disputing about anise and cummin;" of the Oxford School and of the Oxford revival he spoke with equal abhorrence. Even his great friend, Dr. Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel, felt himself called upon to remonstrate with him; he told him in a letter, "You write with haste and without consideration; you write on subjects which you have not studied and do not understand, and which are not of your province."

Though a Latitudinarian, he was, what in the present day would be called a Ritualist, and enriched his theory with all the beauty which is derived from the external ceremonial of catholic worship. With all his contempt for metaphysical questions between[a]

[a] i.e. whether our Saviour was of one substance (*homoousios*) or of like substance (*homoiousios*) with the Father.

Homoousios and *Homoiousios*, he regarded the Creeds as "triumphant hymns of thanksgiving," the very Nicene Creed of the *Homoousios*, instead of being read, was chanted in Rugby School Chapel; he was for crosses and way-side oratories, daily services, religious societies of females, and religious processions; he advocated confession, but it must not be made to a Priest[o].

His ideal of a Christian Church was first given to the world in 1833 in a pamphlet on "Church Reform," and later by his "Fragments on the Church." The alliance between Church and State, which is a mere accident, he made the essence of a Church, and his great idea of Christian efficiency. He founded his scheme of a National Church on the German theory; he would make Church and State two independent societies with distinct duties, but forming one religious corporation under civil functionaries, of which the King is head, and the State prescribes the religion. He maintained that the King, "before the introduction of Christianity, had been the head of the State; he was equally the head of the perfected State, that is, of the Church; with him rested the duty of imposing and superintending all the details of the Society's government." He urged that the civil power is more fitted than are the clergy, not only to govern, but also to fix the doctrines of, the Church; errors on the doctrine of the Trinity are not seriously

[o] Mozley's Essays, ii. 45.

reprehensible; the Athanasian Creed is but the "provoking and ill-judged language" of Trinitarians, which has served as a "stumbling-block to *good* Unitarians," and is the product of the "Priestcraft heresy;" Ordination he considered only the appointment of public officers of the Crown. The Church might well include "good Arians," for it could do no harm if they prayed side by side with us to Christ as a *glorified Man*, whilst we prayed to Him as *God*. The House of Commons might so modify the Prayer-book that a system of comprehension could be adopted in which all bodies (except Jews, Quakers, and Roman Catholics) might worship together in a National Church; all ministers should be episcopally ordained, and the Church of England might use the parish churches in the morning, the Dissenters at other times of the day. All those whose bigoted views prevented them from thus worshipping in church should lose the rights of citizenship, and be excluded from all State privileges. Arnold was a strong admirer of Bunsen; "I could sit," he said, "at Bunsen's feet, and drink in wisdom with almost intense reverence;" and also of Archbishop Whately: "In Church matters," he said, "the Whig Ministry have Whately, and a signal blessing it is that they have him to listen to[p]."

Arnold's theory of an ideal Church and its certain

[p] Mor. Essays, ii. 28.

consequences very closely approximates to what is found in the Evangelical Prussian Establishment of the present day. The condition of that Church is described in a volume entitled "The Church, its Origin, its History, its Present Position[9]." Dr. Brückner is the lecturer who deals with "The Church of the present." "It must not be concealed," he says, "that a great part of the Protestant population is at variance with the Protestant Church. There is a great gulf fixed between the faith which the Church professes, and the faith which the majority of her members partakes. . . . I will not enquire whether the (Roman Catholic) Bishop of Paderborn is right when he affirms that he knew of Protestant towns of 18,000 inhabitants in which only from 32 to 34 church-goers are to be found. . . . But it is a fact in a town such as Berlin, with its population of 650,000 inhabitants, the existing churches can accommodate only 40,000, and that they are said to be seldom filled. To apply this fact to other cities, even to our own (Leipsic), is not to deviate very widely from the actual state of things."

This lecture was delivered in 1865, before the wars with Austria and France, which by giving Prussia first the hegemony of Germany, and then by reviving the German Empire, enormously increased the size of Berlin, as now the national capital. In December,

[9] By Drs. Luthardt, Kahnis, and Bruckner, 1867.

1880, Berlin had 1,122,360 inhabitants; now probably it has 1,250,000, and yet there has been no material increase in church accommodation since 1865.

Arnold's bold Latitudinarian theories, which in all sober seriousness he recommended to the State, startled both Churchmen and those whom he called *orthodox* Dissenters alike, and yet there was an idea of elevating him to the Episcopate[r]. The year before his death he was appointed by Lord Melbourne Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, but he lived to deliver only the introductory course of Lectures; he died in 1842, just when his reputation as a teacher was at its height, and when the odium which had so long attached to his views was dying out, at the early age of 47.

A few words here will suffice as to the early history of Dr. Hampden, whose name will come more prominently forward a little later on. Renn Dickson Hampden (1793—1868), a descendant of the celebrated John Hampden, was born at Barbadoes, and after receiving a private education at Warminster, entered as a Commoner at Oriel in 1810; he took a Double First degree in 1813; in 1814 he obtained the prize for the Latin Essay, and, like Whately and Arnold, was a Fellow and also a Tutor of Oriel. In 1831 he was Public Examiner; in 1832 Bampton

[r] This was only prevented by a strong protest from Archbishop Howley.—*Church Times*, January 2, 1870.

Lecturer, taking for his subject "The Scholastic Philosophy in its relation to Christian Theology[s]." These Lectures were attended by few, and understood by fewer, and were afterwards scarcely ever read, but were of such a character as to draw down upon the Lecturer the censure of the University. Notwithstanding this, Dr. Hampden rose in repute in the University; in 1833 he became Principal of St. Mary Hall, and next Professor of Moral Philosophy[t]. We shall here leave Dr. Hampden for a time, as we shall have occasion to return to him again presently.

At a time when the Church was in danger, not only from open foes without, but also from doubtful friends within its pale, it was evident that a crisis in its history had arrived. The Church could no longer stand still; it must either become worse or better; either become committed to a formal Latitudinarianism, and the Broad Church become the Church of the future, in which case there would be an expungement from its services, certainly of the Athanasian Creed, probably of the Nicene Creed, possibly of the Apostles' Creed also; or she must reclaim her Catholic birthright. At such a crisis

[s] Of these Lectures Mr. Hallam speaks as the only attempt made by any English writer to penetrate the depths of the Scholastic philosophy.

[t] One of the qualifications for the latter appointment was that he should be "Sinceritate Fidei commendatus."

the same college in the same University which had created the internal danger brought also the cure. The same college which had nurtured a Whately, an Arnold, and a Hampden, nurtured also Keble, and Pusey, and Newman, the three Wilberforces, and Hurrell Froude. Amongst these and other like-minded men an alarm arose, not like the old eighteenth-century cry of "the Church in danger," which regarded merely the Church of England as an *Establishment*—for by the Church they understood something higher than this—they felt that there was something better than the Establishment, and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, and the fear was lest the Catholicity of the Church might be swept away in the torrent of *Reform*.

The intellectual and spiritual activity which had never wholly left the Church since the Restoration, but which seemed to have deserted it when it thought itself safe, returned to it in its hour of danger. At Oxford the Evangelical party had never taken root. Its head-quarters were at St. Edmund Hall, which in the hands of the Vice-Principal, Mr. Hill, a worthy and consistent man, laid claim to be a burning and shining light amidst the surrounding darkness; but at Oxford the party "could not show a single man who combined scholarship, intellect, and address in a considerable degree [a]."

[a] Mozley's Remains, i. 98.

The great requisite, if a Church-revival was to take place, was to imitate what was Scriptural and Catholic, and to avoid the faults of the Evangelicals. The teaching of the Evangelicals had been too deeply tinged with individualism, dwelling wholly on the influence of religion on each single soul, and never recognizing that corporate and family view which is the very essence of a Church. It had been the delight of the Evangelicals to apply to the Church not only the name but the character of "Protestant," they had thus let go its Catholic side; they led people to an altogether wrong conception of the Church, and many Churchmen amalgamated with Dissenters, and did not hesitate to alter the services in a Protestant direction. What was required, therefore, was something not antagonistic to, but supplemental of, the teaching of the Evangelicals; these had confined themselves to showing the work that Christ did *for* us, it was necessary to bring forward prominently what Christ does *in* us; the Church must teach, quite as strongly as the Evangelicals did, the necessity of Conversion, Justification by Faith, and the Bible, and the Bible only, the religion of the Church; but it must bring into greater prominence those doctrines which the Evangelicals had seemed to undervalue, viz. the Bible as interpreted by the Church; the doctrine of the Sacraments, of Faith showing itself by works, Church authority, and the Apostolical succession.

To the year 1833 and to the Oriel Common-room we assign the commencement of this revival. It is undoubtedly true that previously to that year symptoms of awakening had already begun to manifest themselves outside the Evangelical party, but these attempts were made mostly by individuals, and not by any large section of the Church[y]. These events were few and far between, still they were signs of awakening, and deserve to be recorded[z].

So little interest was attached to what was going on in the Church, that till recently no church organ had existed. This defect was remedied in 1818, when, mainly through the instrumentality of Mr. Henry Handley Norris and Mr. Joshua Watson, the "Christian Remembrancer" sprung into life. The foundation of the "Incorporated Church Building Society" in the same year remedied a great evil in the past, and gave good promise for the future. Parliament, too, began to awake to its responsibilities, and to make amends for the past; relying mainly upon local liberality, helped to make provision for more adequate Church accommodation by

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[y] The names of Bishop Jebb and his friend Alexander Knox, and of Joshua Watson, at once occur.

[z] Some improvement was made as early as 1803, when measures were passed in Parliament to restrain clerical farming, to enforce the residence of Incumbents, and to encourage the building of churches. 43 George III.

a grant of one million pounds, and two more grants amounting together to £926,000.

The Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford did their best to revive Theological studies. Between 1826—1828 Dr. Lloyd[2] was the Regius Professor; in his lectures the history and origin of the Prayer-book formed a prominent part, and the Services were traced back through the Roman Missals and Breviaries to their original sources. The lectures were attended by all the earlier promoters of the revival except Mr. Keble, who had left the University in 1823, and to those lectures Mr. Oakley, one of the most prominent amongst its earliest members, ascribes the commencement of the movement: "I do remember," he says, "to have received from him an entirely new notion of Catholic doctrine;" and "I have no doubt his teaching had a most powerful influence upon the movement." Dr. Lloyd was succeeded as Regius Professor of Divinity by Dr. Burton (1829—1836), who directed his pupils to the study of Eusebius and of the history of the Primitive Church.

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[1] The following is an extract from a letter written to the *Guardian* Newspaper by the Reverend Thomas Keble, brother of the Author of the "Christian Year:" "I was ordained Deacon in Christ Church Cathedral in 1816 and Priest in 1817, by Bishop Legge, and in both cases the Priest officiated at the *North Side* of the Altar, standing with his back to the congregation."

[2] Afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

A similar work was carried on at Cambridge by Hugh James Rose, who, in 1826, delivered his "Discourses on the Commission and consequent Duties of the Clergy" before that University.

In June, 1827, Mr. Keble published the "Christian Year," which in the eyes of opponents was "fons et origo mali." The anger which it caused amongst a section of Latitudinarians and Low Churchmen, and the favour which it received from the Church generally (probably no devotional book has ever attained so wide a circulation), was a sign of the growing appreciation of the Church and of a desire for the revival of stricter Church principles[a].

William (afterwards Sir William) Palmer[b] went in 1828 from Trinity College, Dublin, to Oxford, where, though a member of Worcester College, he was attracted to the more congenial atmosphere of Oriel. His great aim and object in going to Oxford was to explore its libraries for a work which he was then intending to publish on Liturgiology, and especially the Ritual of the English Church. This work, which was commenced in 1826, he for a time abandoned, finding that a similar work had been already begun by Dr. Lloyd, who had, in 1827, been raised to the

[a] Not long afterwards the "Christian Year" was publicly burnt at Oxford. A friend visiting Mr. Newman at Littlemore said to him, "A certain book has been publicly burnt, What is it?" Newman answered, "The Christian Year."

[b] Died in 1886.

See of Oxford; but on Bishop Lloyd's premature death Mr. Palmer was persuaded by Dr. Burton, who had succeeded Dr. Lloyd as Regius Professor of Divinity, to continue his work; and in 1832, the Bishop's collections being added to his own, he brought out the *Origines Liturgicæ*[c]. The work had long been a desideratum in the Church; it was written on principles which were then considered as *High Church*, but such as most of those who are now-a-days called Low Churchmen would allow—the divine institution of the Church, and its independence of the State in Creeds and jurisdiction. For this work the Church was in the first instance indebted to Bishop Jebb (consecrated Bishop of Limerick in 1823), for it was in preparing for the careful system which Dr. Jebb had adopted in his Ordination Examinations that Mr. Palmer first imbibed the idea of his book[d].

We must now return to Oriel. In 1823 John Henry Newman, who had taken his B.A. Degree at Trinity, was elected a Fellow of Oriel[e]; in 1824

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[c] "Or Antiquities of the English Ritual, with a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies."

[d] Forster's Life of Bishop Jebb, p. 243. In 1838 Mr. Palmer published his invaluable "Treatise on the Church of Christ."

[e] Newman tells us how, when elected to his Fellowship, he hastened "to the Tower to receive the congratulations of all the Fellows; I bore it till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honour done to me, that I

Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800—1882); and in 1826 Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Hurrell Froude were elected Fellows of the same college. In 1828 Dr. Copleston, Provost of Oriel, was raised to the See of Llandaff, and about the same time Mr. Pusey became Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church.

For the office of Provost of Oriel two names, those of Hawkins and Keble, were brought forward; from the first Keble had been a pronounced Churchman, and in 1827 had published the "Christian Year;" but in the election Newman gave all the weight of his vote and influence to Hawkins, and Hawkins was elected. To explain this preference, which at first seems strange, we must give some account of Newman's history since he was elected Fellow of Oriel. In 1824 he took Holy Orders, and became curate of St. Clement's, Oxford. Whilst Curate of St. Clement's it devolved upon him to superintend the building of a church for that parish; and so little knowledge did he possess of, and so little regard did he pay to, Church architecture, that the result was the erection of that singular edifice on the Marston-road, which no one can look upon without remarking its resemblance to a boiled rabbit. At that period of his life he was a member of the Bible Society (with

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seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground."—Apologia, p. 76.

which the Low Church party was identified); Secretary to the Local Board of the Church Missionary Society, and a frequenter of the parties given by Mr. Hill, the Evangelical Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall; and when the "Record" newspaper was started in 1828 he was one of its earliest subscribers, and for some time continued its constant reader. When Whately was appointed in 1825 Principal of St. Alban Hall, he chose Newman as his Vice-Principal; the only points of difference between Whately and Newman at that time being that Newman's sentiments were too much in favour of Evangelicalism to please Whately[f]; this appointment he vacated the following year on being appointed Tutor to his college in succession to Jelf[g]. The Tutorship he held only till 1831, when he, together with two other Tutors, Wilberforce and Froude, resigned on account of a difference with the new Provost.

Thus at that early period there was but little sympathy in Church feeling between Keble and Newman; "He (Keble) was shy of me for years," writes Newman, "in consequence of the marks which I bore upon me of Evangelical and liberal schools[h]." Be-

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[f] Mozley's Rem., i. 24.

[g] Bishop Lloyd was desirous of getting Newman appointed Tutor to Prince George of Cumberland; the age, however, was limited to 27 or above; Newman was only 25, so Jelf was appointed.

[h] Apol., 77.

sides this difference in their Church views, Keble had left Oxford the same year in which Newman was elected to his Fellowship, and consequently the two were at first brought very little together ; and it was not until 1828, when Hurrell Froude, a former pupil of Keble's, made them more intimate, that they knew much of each other. This will explain why Newman voted for Hawkins, and perhaps how Hawkins instead of Keble became Provost of Oriel.

To the Vicarage of St. Mary's, Oxford, vacated by Hawkins' election to the Provostship, Newman succeeded, and to St. Mary's was attached the hamlet of Littlemore, about three miles from Oxford on the London road, which did not even possess a church. The first stone of the church at Littlemore, which was built as a chapel-of-ease to St. Mary's, was laid in July, 1835 ; and Littlemore Church, although simplicity itself in its construction, was the germ of the revival of worship within the Church[i]. Newman's idea of ritual at that time seems to have been on a par with his taste for architecture, for we are told that he administered the Holy Communion to the people at St. Mary's in their seats down the church, the desks of which were covered with white linen, and looked like tables[k].

In Michaelmas Term, 1829, Newman, with other

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[i] Hope's Worship in Church of England, p. 1.

[k] Mozley's Rem., i. 345.

Fellows and Probationary Fellows of Oriel, began (after the manner of the meetings commenced at Oxford by the Wesleys exactly a century before) to hold meetings for the study of the Scriptures; at these meetings the question whether the Pope was Antichrist (a belief very common in those days), as to which Newman entertained doubts, was frequently discussed.

We will not stop at present to enquire into the various processes through which his mind passed. Suffice it to say that by 1833 an opinion had become fixed at Oriel, that if the Church was to be saved it must be on principles different from those of either the Evangelical or Broad Church Schools; for whilst the former had been weighed in the balance and found wanting, the Broad Church party were favouring a Parliamentary Church, and trusting to those very Acts of Parliament which threatened to be the Church's ruin. The new party which was arising, and of which Newman was chief, saw that men had thought too much about the Establishment, and had been bartering their birthright for a mess of pottage which Acts of Parliament seemed to offer them, and that the "bigoted two-bottle orthodox" were unlikely to save the Church.

At the beginning of the Long Vacation of 1833, when Newman (who at the end of 1832 had left England in company of Hurrell Froude) was absent from Oxford, Hurrell Froude, who had returned

before Newman, and W. Palmer of Worcester College, resolved, in the Common-room of Oriel, to form an Association for upholding the rights and principles of the Church. This plan was communicated by W. Palmer to Hugh James Rose, Rector of Hadleigh in Essex[1], and by Hurrell Froude to Mr. Keble; soon afterwards the Reverend A. Perceval was invited to take part in the deliberations. A conference took place at Hadleigh Rectory, which continued for nearly a week[m]. It appeared to those who met there that the action of Parliament arose from a mistaken idea of the character and constitution of the Church, of its legal independence of the State, and the divine commission and authority of the Clergy; they agreed that the first step was to revive a practical recognition of the truths set forth in the Preface to the Ordinal. The first fruits of the meeting were the *Tracts for the Times.*

Newman reached England from the Continent on July 9. On the following Sunday, July 14, Keble preached from the pulpit of St. Mary's his famous Assize Sermon, afterwards published under the title of "National Apostasy." The appointment of Mr. Keble to preach that sermon seemed at the time a small matter, but, said Mr. Newman, "I have al-

[1] In 1832 Mr. Rose had started the "British Magazine," in which many poems afterwards published in the *Lyra Apostolica* first appeared.

[m] Palmer's Narrative of Events, p. 102.

ways considered and kept that day as the start of the religious movement of 1833[a]."

After Newman's return to Oxford, and the meeting at Hadleigh, frequent conversations took place at Oriel between Keble, Palmer, Froude, and Newman, in which various plans were discussed; and although some difference of opinion existed on the question of the union between Church and State, yet the necessity of combined action was recognized, and especial attention was bestowed on the preparation of a formulary of agreement on the basis of an Association for that purpose.

In the autumn of the same year a draft of a formulary as the basis of further proceedings, having been adopted and printed by Mr. Perceval, was submitted to the public, suggesting the formation of an Association of Friends of the Church, with these two objects: (1) "To maintain pure and inviolate the doctrine, the discipline, and the services of the Church; that is, to withstand all change which involves the denial of, or departure from, primitive practice in religious offices, and innovations upon the Apostolical prerogative, order, and commission of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: (2) To afford Churchmen an opportunity of exchanging their sentiments, and co-operating together on a large scale."

One of the first results of this appeal was an

[a] Apologia.

address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by about 7,000 of the Clergy; whilst on the part of the laity another, mainly drawn up by Mr. Joshua Watson, was presented to the Archbishop in February, 1834, containing a declaration of attachment to the Church, and signed by upwards of 230,000 *heads of families.* From these two addresses may be dated the turn of the tide which had threatened to overwhelm the Church. The leading mind in the new movement was undoubtedly Newman, although he tells us he had no idea of heading a party. He himself calls Mr. Keble "the true and primary author of the movement." "Having carried off as a mere boy the highest honours of the University, he had turned from the admiration which haunted his steps, and sought for a better and holier satisfaction in pastoral work in the country. Need I say that I am speaking of John Keble[o]?" Wits of the day tried to fix upon the new movement the title of *Newmania.* Dr. Pusey was not fully associated with it till 1835 and 1836, when he published his Tract on Baptism, and started the Library of the Fathers. "I had known him well," says Newman, "since 1827—1828, and felt for him an enthusiastic admiration; I used to call him '*ὁ μέγας.*' Great was my joy when in the last days of 1833 he showed a disposition to make common cause with us." The party after Pusey was

[o] Apologia, p. 75.

associated with it obtained the name of "Puseyites." "My name," writes Dr. Pusey[p], "was first used to designate those of us who gave themselves to revive the teaching of forgotten truth and piety, because I first had occasion to write fully on Baptismal Regeneration. But it was used by opponents and not by confederates."

The declarations of attachment to the Church found an echo at Court, and in May, 1834, King William IV. took occasion to address to the Bishops assembled on the anniversary of his birthday, a declaration of devotion to the Church, and his firm resolution to maintain its doctrines: "I have been by the circumstances of my life and by conviction led to support toleration to the utmost extent of which it is capable; but toleration must not be suffered to go into licentiousness.... It was for the defence of the Religion of this country that was made the settlement of the Crown which has placed me in the situation which I now fill; and that religion and the Church of England and Ireland it is my fixed purpose, determination, and resolution to maintain."

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[p] Eirenicon, Part III.

CHAPTER II.

THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

THE first of those *Tracts for the Times*, from which the name "Tractarians" was given to the new party, appeared on September 9, 1833, exactly two months after Newman's return to England. The principal contributors were Newman, Pusey, Keble, all of them Oriel men, and Isaac Williams, Fellow of Trinity[a]. We learn their object from the first Tract, "Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission." It is addressed to the Clergy, and commences thus: "I am but one of yourselves, a Presbyter, and therefore I conceal my name, lest I should take too much on myself by speaking in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them. . . . . Now let me come at once to the subject which leads me to address you. Should the government and country so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, on what will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks?" The writer then proceeds to answer

[a] The Tracts contributed by Newman were 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 20, 21, 34, 38, 41, 45, 47, 71, 73, 75, 79, 82, 83, 85, 88, 90.

the question: "The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present Bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives. ... Every one of us believes this ... for it is the doctrine of the Ordination Service. ... Whence does the Bishop derive his right? ... He could not give what he had never received. It is plain that he but *transmits;* and that the Christian ministry is a *succession.* ... This is a plain *historical* fact; and therefore all we, who have been ordained Clergy, in the very form of our Ordination acknowledged the Doctrine of the *Apostolical Succession.* ... A notion has gone abroad that they can take away your power.... They think it lies in the Church property, and they know that they have politically the power to confiscate that property. ... Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our Holy Fathers, the Bishops, as the representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches; and magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their ministry[b]." This is the great centre doctrine on which all others hinge. This doctrine, which has been handed down to us from the Reformation (the Tracts go on to tell us), "although forgotten by us for the last fifty

[b] Tract No. 1.

years, is the only ground on which we can boldly meet Romanism and Dissent, which are the places of refuge of those whom the Church stints of the means of Grace, the foster-mother of her abandoned children. The neglect of the daily service; the desecration of festivals; infrequent Communions, and like deficiencies; as they lead on the one hand the feverish mind, desirous of a vent to its feelings, to Prayer and Bible meetings, lead others to the captivating Services by which Rome gains her proselytes."

During the early part of the movement nothing could be stronger than the language of the Tract-writers, one and all, against Rome. "We must deal with her," says Mr. Newman [c], "as we should towards a friend who is visited by derangement; for in truth she is *a Church beside herself*, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; *crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are.* Or rather, she may be said *to resemble a demoniac; . . . the system itself*, so called, as a whole, and therefore all parts of it, *tend to evil* [d]."

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[c] Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church.

[d] Compare the following Tracts: Tract 7, Popery Incurable; 73, A falling off; 7, Pestilential; 15, 64, Malicious and Cruel; 75, Rebellious; 1, 67, 72, Tyrannical; 64, An insanity, an evil spirit; 3, 7, 8, 20, Heretical; 7, 14, 28, 50, 66, 84, 88, Irrecon-

The party grew. It gained force and union from being widely under the direction of one head, Newman, who was well constituted for the leader of a great religious movement[e]. In 1836 he published, in opposition to Dr. Wiseman, his *Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*, and in 1837 his *Essay on Justification*[f]. By the end of 1837 the movement had spread over the whole of England. The Tract-writers attacked errors, but never individuals; even their opponents acknowledged that they wrote as Christians should write, in humility and reverence, free from all bitterness and evil-speaking. And yet they met with opposition from all quarters. No secular aid, no courtly nor aristocratic influence, favoured them. Not only the leaders of the great political parties; not only Members of both Houses of Parliament, and Patrons of Livings, but, wonderful to relate, the Bishops also regarded them with marked aversion; of the episcopal charges of the day scarcely one but animadverts on the writings and tenets of the Oxford Tracts[g]. The same was

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cileably different from us; 6, Unscriptural; 9, 32, 58, Persecuting; 38, 40, 41, 48, 72, Antichrist. Quoted Q. R., lxiii. 556.

[e] Palmer's Narrative, 61.

[f] He published in 1834 the first volume of his *Parochial Sermons*.

[g] See Bricknell, "Judgment of the Bishops on Tractarian Theology," (1845).

the case in Scotland and Ireland. A dinner was never given in the former country without Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman being denounced as enemies of the Church; in Ireland, on one occasion, the Clergy were ready to rise "en masse" against them, when lo! it was discovered all of a sudden that not a single Tract had at that time found its way into that country[h].

The earliest Tracts were mere leaflets of four or five pages, but what, in spite of episcopal opposition they had grown to by the end of 1837 will appear from a reference to the fourth volume of the Tracts. In it there is a Letter by Dr. Pusey, consisting of 42 pages; Catena Patrum (No. III.), of 118 pages; Purgatory, 61 pages; Reserve, First Tract on that subject, 83 pages; Catena Patrum (No. IV.), 424 pages: total 728 pages in small type[i]. So the movement went on progressing. From 1838—1841 Newman was sole editor of the "British Critic," and that Review, always an organ of the High Church party in the old sense, now became the organ of what was called the "Oxford party[j]." In 1836 Hurrell Froude, cut

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[h] Q. R., lxiii. 540. Similarly the Clergy of a large district in the west of England resolved to register a protest against the Tracts, but when it was found that not one of them had read them, it was resolved that they would read them first and postpone their condemnation till the next meeting.

[i] Mozley's Rem., i. 406.

[j] Ibid., i. 415.

off by consumption, died at the age of 33[1], and in 1838 Froude's *Remains* appeared; in 1840 Faber's *Tracts on the Church and her Office.* The publication of the former of these works caused much anger amongst opponents, and, not altogether without reason, much alarm amongst friends. Hurrell Froude, together with Newman, had been at the commencement the life and master-spirit of the movement. Unlike Newman, who held that the Roman Church was anti-Christian, Froude openly professed his admiration for that Church, and spoke in strong language against the English Reformers. No doubt his youthful and fervent spirit often led him into hasty expressions which some might regard with regret, but it is only fair to his memory that he should be judged by his own words, written shortly before his death:—"If I were to assign my reason for belonging to the Church of England before any other community, it would be simply this, that she has retained an Apostolic Clergy, and enacts no sinful terms of Communion; whereas, on the one hand, the Romanists, though retaining an Apostolic Clergy, *do* exact sinful terms of Communion; and on the other, no other religious community has retained such a Clergy."

The first time the Tract-writers, as a body, appeared

[1] The Church party also sustained a great loss by the death of H. J. Rose in 1838.

upon the scene was, in connexion with Churchmen of all shades of opinion, in opposition to the appointment by Lord Melbourne of Dr. Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford. When Dr. Burton, the Regius Professor, died at the early age of forty-two, it was supposed that Mr. Edward Denison[k], who had strong interest as well as University and political claims, would be appointed as his successor: but instead of this, Dr. Hampden, who had given great offence by his Bampton Lectures, but who had particularly recommended himself to the government by his support to their proposals for admitting Dissenters to the Universities, was appointed. At the end of 1834 he had published a pamphlet entitled "Observations on Religious Dissent, with particular reference to the Use of Religious Tests in the University," in which he stated that the Creeds were mere matters of opinion, and advocated the abolition of subscription to the XXXIX. Articles; he spoke[l] of "putting Unitarians on the same footing precisely of earnest religious zeal and love for the Lord Jesus Christ on which I would place any other Christian." It is true that in his pamphlet he made no direct reference to the *Tracts for the Times*, but it was evidently directed against them, and struck at the very root of the whole movement.

The appointment of such a man as Regius Pro-

[k] Bishop of Salisbury from 1837—1854. [l] Page 22.

fessor of Divinity, in which position he would have the opportunity of instructing and influencing half of the rising generation of Clergymen, was an unjustifiable act of aggression on the Church by the State. Seventy-three resident Fellows and nine Heads of Colleges signed a petition to the King against the appointment; but to no purpose. All parties in the University combined in petitioning the Heads to submit Dr. Hampden's writings to Convocation; the Heads of Colleges would not go so far as this, and only reluctantly agreed to a compromise, whereby the new Regius Professor should be refused a voice in the appointment of the Select Preachers at St. Mary's; and a Statute to this effect was passed in the University Convocation by 474 to 94 votes.

In 1841 the contest for the Professorship of Poetry, vacated by Mr. Keble, between Mr. Isaac Williams, a poet who is known to fame as the author of the *Baptistery* and *Cathedral*, and Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon) Garbett, of whom as a poet no one ever heard then or since, was conducted on purely theological grounds. Party spirit at the time ran high in the University, for at the commencement of that year Tract 90 had appeared. Mr. Garbett was a Low Churchman, and Isaac Williams was one of the Tract-writers[m]; an actual contest was avoided

[m] He was the author of Nos. 80 and 87, on "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge."

by the committees of the two candidates agreeing to abide by the promises made, the number of which was found to be 921 for Garbett and 623 for Williams.

The year 1841 was also the year of the foundation of the Jerusalem Bishopric, which, although favoured by Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield, met with much reasonable opposition from the High Church party. The King of Prussia and the Crown of England were to nominate alternately to the Bishopric; that the Church of England should thus combine with the Lutheran Communion of Prussia was strongly objected to; it was also evident that as there was already a Bishop of the Greek Church located there, there could not canonically be another Bishop of Jerusalem. Nevertheless the Reverend Michael Solomon Alexander, a converted Jew, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Rochester, and Bishop Selwyn, the newly consecrated Bishop of New Zealand, as Bishop of Jerusalem.

In January, 1841, the famous Tract 90, entitled "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," made its appearance; it was at first published anonymously, but in a letter dated March 16, and addressed to the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Newman anounced himself to be the Author. The object of the Tract was to shew that a rigid Protestant interpretation had been imported into the Articles which

they did not necessarily convey; that "our Articles neither contradict anything Catholic, nor are meant to condemn anything in early Christianity, even though not Catholic, but only the later definite system in the Church of Rome."

It will be more satisfactory to give Mr. Newman's version of that Tract in his own words:—"The main thesis of my Essay was this: The Articles do not oppose Catholic teaching, they but partially oppose Roman dogma; they for the most part oppose the dominant errors of Rome. And the problem was to draw the line as to what they allowed, and what they condemned. Such being the object which I had in view, what were my prospects of widening and defining their meaning? The prospect was encouraging: there was no doubt at all of the elasticity of the Articles. To take a preliminary instance; the fourteenth was presumed by one party to be Lutheran, by another Calvinistic, though the two interpretations were contradictory to each other; why then should not other Articles be drawn with a vagueness of an equally intense character?"

Dr. Newman has been accused of maintaining in Tract 90 the right of any person to subscribe the XXXIX. Articles in a *Non-natural* sense. He distinctly repudiated the accusation of maintaining either there or elsewhere such an evasion [a]; "I main-

[a] Letter to Mr. Maurice in 1863.

tained in Tract 90 that the XXXIX. Articles ought to be subscribed in their 'literal and grammatical sense;' but I maintained also that they were so drawn up as to admit in that grammatical sense of subscriptions on the part of persons who differed very much from each other in the judgment which they formed of Catholic doctrines [o]."

The first protest against Tract 90 appeared on March 9, and proceeded from four Tutors, Churton of Brasenose, Wilson of St. John's [p], Griffiths of Wadham, and Tait of Balliol [q]. They complained that the Tract had "a highly dangerous tendency; that it appears to have a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own. This Tract puts forth new and startling views as to the extent to which that liberty may be carried....

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[o] Similarly Dr. Pusey wrote to the *Times*, February 20, 1863: "I never gave (nor, I will add, did Dr. Newman ever give) any sanction to put non-natural interpretations on the Articles." It may be observed that Mr. Newman's interpretation is the same as that afterwards ruled by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Gorham Case, viz. that the XXXIX. Articles are to be construed in their widest sense.

[p] "Tom Churton was a very queer fellow, an exception to his family. Another of the four (Wilson) evidently did not know his own opinions, for he soon found himself in a case for a liberal interpretation, instead of disallowing it."—Mozley's Rem., ii. 388.

[q] Late Archbishop of Canterbury.

We are at a loss to see what security would remain were his (the author's) principles generally recognized, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines . . . might not be inculcated . . . from the pulpits of our Churches." And they requested that the author of the Tract would make known his name.

The next day the Protest was laid before the Heads of Houses, and on March 12 a Committee of Heads was appointed for the examination of the Tract. On the 14th (Sunday) Mr. Newman wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, requesting the Heads would defer judgment until a Letter which he had in the press was published; this letter, addressed to Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church, stating that the four Tutors had misunderstood his meaning, was actually published on the 16th. The Heads of Colleges, however, had not patience or forbearance for even one day, but without waiting till that letter of explanation was published, a meeting of the Hebdomadal Council was held on the 15th (Monday), at which the following resolution was passed: that "the modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the XXXIX. Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-named Statutes;" i.e. the Statutes which require subscription to the Articles.

Tract 90 was the last of the *Tracts for the Times:*

for before the end of March they were, in deference to the wish of Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, discontinued. On May 19 of the same year the foundation of the *Martyrs' Memorial* at Oxford, in accordance with a proposal issued from Magdalen Hall on November 17, 1838, was laid; that in order to counteract the Tractarian movement, such a memorial should be erected to the memory of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, "who had so large a share in restoring our own branch of the Catholic Church to primitive orthodoxy, and who for the maintenance of the Scriptural truth which they embodied in its Articles and other Formularies, suffered death in this City."

The Tracts were discontinued, but the object for which they were undertaken was accomplished. Long-forgotten truths concerning the Apostolical character of the Anglican Church were brought to light; a higher tone of feeling pervaded society; a taste for theological study manifested itself amongst the Clergy; an increased devotion amongst the laity; a more reverent performance of Divine Service; more frequent Communions, and an improvement in Church music followed.

A great work was going on in different parts of England. At Oxford, Newman, one of the master minds of the age, was Vicar of St. Mary's, and in that position had many of the future race of Clergy amongst his congregation; and through his transcendent ability and simple piety, and through those

well-known sermons which he preached at the four o'clock service at St. Mary's on Sundays, exercised an immense influence amongst the undergraduates. As to whence the great power of his sermons arose, we may form some idea from the words of Mr. Gladstone, himself residing at Oxford at the time: "His manner in the pulpit was one which, if you considered it in its separate parts, would lead you to arrive at a very unsatisfactory conclusion. There was not much change in the inflexion of his voice; action there was none; his sermons were read, and his eyes were always on his book . . . but you take the man as a whole, and there was a stamp and a seal upon him; there was a solemn sweetness and music in his tone, there was a completeness in the figure taken together with the tone and the manner, which made even his delivery such as I have described it, and though exclusively with written sermons, singularly attractive."

A good work was being carried on in London by Mr. Oakeley, and in 1837 Walter Farquhar Hook (1798—1875), who since 1828 had been Incumbent of the important parish of Holy Trinity, Coventry, was appointed to the more important Vicarage of Leeds[r]. A short description of the

[r] The Living was first offered to and refused by the Reverend Samuel Wilberforce, afterwards Dean of Westminster, and Bishop successively of Oxford and Winchester.

state of the parish when he went thither will afford an insight, if necessary, of a state of things prevalent at the time. We are told that he found the service-books in tatters and the surplices in rags. Of the seven Churchwardens none except the one appointed by the Vicar were Churchmen; they resolutely refused to spend a farthing on such matters until they were threatened with proceedings by the Archdeacon. When they assembled for Vestry-meetings, they piled their hats and coats on the Altar, and even sat upon it, and soon afterwards, under the increased number of communicants, they grumbled exceedingly at the increase of wine required for the Holy Communion, and objected that the consecrated wine was, as the Rubric directed, drunk in Church after celebration, instead of being re-consecrated; and they remained in the vestry to guard, although there was strong reason for suspecting that they themselves drank, the wine [s]. Hook found the practice prevailing of taking the Holy Communion to people in their pews; he at first thought it prudent to follow the plan, usual with his predecessors, of saying the Commandments from the reading-desk. It was a sign of the improved Church feeling of his day that he was appointed to Leeds over such a staunch Evangelical as Hugh Stowell; in time he overcame all opposition, and carried on a great work; in 1841 the new parish church was

[s] Stephens's Life of Dean Hook, i. 375.

consecrated, and he was able to shew that choral services, which had hitherto been confined to Cathedrals, might profitably be carried on in parish churches.

In 1836 the diocese of Ripon was divided off from that of York. The erection of the new See, the first founded since the Reformation, was not at first popular amongst Churchmen, who entertained the idea that somehow it must be connected with Reform, and Radicalism, and the overthrow of the Constitution. Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, had thought of translating Dr. Grey from the Bishopric of Hereford to the vacant See of Chichester, and of appointing Dr. Longley, Head Master of Harrow, to the former See; the plan, however, fell through, so Dr. Longley[t] was appointed to the new See of Ripon[u].

The year 1836 rained garters and croziers upon the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne: the Bishoprics of Ely, Lichfield, Chichester, Bristol, Durham, and Ripon, falling to his appointment. Lord Melbourne hated all patronage, especially Church patronage; "as for Bishops, he positively believed they died to vex him." He seemed to try how near he could sail to the wind in appointing men of whose orthodoxy

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[t] Afterwards Bishop of Durham, and Archbishop successively of York and Canterbury.

[u] Torrens' Memoirs of Melbourne, ii. 186.

there was some suspicion. He set his affections on three men, about all of whom there was some doubt, Arnold, Stanley, and Thirlwall. Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary, urged on him the appointment of Dr. Arnold to the See of Norwich, vacated by the death of Dr. Bathurst; it seems that Lord Melbourne wished to make the appointment, but he thought the experiment too dangerous: "What," he asked himself, "have Tory Churchmen done for me that I should make them a present of such a handle against my government?" It was not love to the Church, but fear for his government that restrained him. So Stanley was in 1837 appointed to the See.

To the See of Lichfield, vacant by the death of Bishop Ryder, he thought of appointing Thirlwall, but asked the Bishops of Ely and Chichester to examine his writings, and the latter reported unfavourably. Thirlwall may be supposed to have learnt orthodoxy by 1840, when the same Prime Minister appointed him to succeed Dr. Jenkinson in the See of St. David's. Still up to the last he seems to have had some doubts about Thirlwall. Thirlwall called upon him to thank him, and found him in bed, surrounded by newspapers and letters. "Sit down, sit down," said the Minister; "hope you are come to say you accept. I only wish you to understand that I don't intend, if I know it, to make a heterodox Bishop. I don't like heterodox Bishops. . . . I take great interest in theological questions; I have read

a good deal of those old fellows," pointing to a pile of the Fathers[x]. Such may be taken as a specimen of the manner in which Bishops were made fifty years ago.

In June, 1838, Dr. Hook preached before the Queen in the Chapel Royal his sermon *Hear the Church.* The object of the sermon was to bring before the Queen the nature and claims of that Church of which she was the temporal Head, and to show her that the Church, so far from being founded at the Reformation, had existed in a continuous succession from the Apostles. The sermon was not a new one, having been previously preached by him at Coventry, but such unmistakable language on the doctrine of the Church authority and the claims of the English Church to that authority was something new, and was much disliked by the Queen's advisers, and there is reason for believing that neither the doctrine nor the preacher were ever popular in the highest quarters; the sermon, however, soon ran through twenty-eight editions, effecting a sale of 100,000 copies, so that thousands read it, and the truth which it proclaimed was widely spread.

At Oxford during the earliest days of the movement, Ritual and the outward observances of religion received little attention. We have seen how that Mr. Newman retained the custom, probably derived

[x] Torrens' Memoirs of Melbourne, iii. 332.

from the Puritans, of delivering the sacred species to the communicants in their seats down the long chancel of St. Mary's. It was not that the early Tractarians were indifferent to Ritual; but they were afraid of introducing Ritual before doctrine had gained a firm hold upon the people[x].

On May 14, 1843, Dr. Pusey preached in Christ Church Cathedral his sermon, *The Holy Communion a comfort for the Penitent*[y]; the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wynter, President of St. John's, on account of a representation made to him by Dr. Faussett, Margaret Professor of Divinity, appointed a Board to report on the sermon. The Board consisted of the Vice-Chancellor himself, Dr. Faussett, who had complained of the sermon, Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham, and Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church, all of whom, except the last[z], were known as strong opponents to the Tractarian school. Dr. Pusey claimed, according to the statutes under which the Board was appointed, to be heard; but his request was refused, and on June 2 he was, unheard in his own

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[x] "Our one great grievance is the neglect of confession," said Mr. Keble.—Keble's Life, p. 300.

[y] This sermon Dr. Hook styled in the dedication of a sermon to Dr. Pusey, "Your truly Evangelical Sermon on the Eucharist."—Hook's Life, ii. 97.

[z] Jelf was also anti-Tractarian, but not on Puritan grounds, as the others were. He was an old-fashioned Georgian Churchman.

defence, and without the objectionable passages being specified, condemned (a course which was reprobated by 230 non-resident members of Convocation, amongst whom were Dr. Hook and Mr. Gladstone); and he was suspended from preaching in the University pulpit for two years[a]. When his suspension was ended he preached another sermon, *The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist*, which was a complement of the first sermon, preached just as if no condemnation had been pronounced, and setting forth, but more fully and dogmatically, the same doctrine for which he had been suspended, and no one was found to dispute it.

But unfortunately for the peace of the Church, the Oxford party had now become split up into two sections: the one, led by such men as Keble, Pusey, Isaac Williams, and Hook, adhering to the original purpose of the Tracts; the other, which may be called the Romanizing school, under Newman, Ward, and Oakeley[b].

After the suppression of the Tracts and the treat-

[a] "Extra-judicially," wrote Dr. Pusey in a Letter to the Secretary of the Church Association, August 10, 1868, "not by the University, but by the Vice-Chancellor sitting with Assessors; nor authoritatively, for the Vice-Chancellor ought to have heard the cause in his Court," in which case Dr. Pusey would have had the opportunity of defending himself. "The University never condemned me, nor could have condemned me, if appealed to."

[b] See Hook's Life, ii. 105; Palmer's Narrative, chap. iii.

ment which he had received, Newman felt that his place in the movement was lost. He thus describes his position:—"Posted up by the Marshal in the buttery-hatch of every College in my University, after the manner of discommonsed pastry-cooks, and when in every part of the country, and every class of society, through every organ and opportunity of opinion, in newspapers, in periodicals, at meetings, in pulpits, at dinner-tables, in coffee-rooms, in railway-carriages, I am denounced as a traitor, who had laid his train, and was detected in the very act of firing it against the time-honoured Establishment. The Bishops one after another began to charge against me." So he exchanged the important position of Vicar of St. Mary's for the quiet retirement of Littlemore.

Next followed the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric. "This was the third blow which finally shattered my faith in the Anglican Church. That Church was not only forbidding any sympathy or concurrence with the Church of Rome, but it was actually courting inter-communion with Protestant Prussia, and the heresy of the Orientals." This was more than his sensitive mind could bear, and snapped the last thread which bound him to the English Church. From the end of 1841 he describes himself as being on his death-bed with regard to the Church of his Baptism. In February, 1843, he writes: "I made a formal recantation of all the hard things which I had

said against the Church of Rome. In September I resigned the Living of St. Mary's, Littlemore included.... As I advanced, my difficulties so cleared away that I ceased to speak of the *Roman Catholics*, and boldly called them *Catholics*."

Events now followed each other with painful rapidity. Externally the Church had been at comparative peace, and the assaults upon it which followed the Reform Bill had ceased since Sir Robert Peel's accession to power in 1841. Internally the excitement caused by the Oxford movement had been growing in intensity, and the close of 1844 and the early weeks of 1845 were marked by "one of the keenest contests which have agitated the University[c]."

In the latter part of 1844 Mr. Ward of Balliol published his "Ideal of a Christian Church considered." Amongst many similar passages the following appears: "I know no single movement in the Church, except Arianism in the fourth century, which seems to me so thoroughly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard as the English Reformation.... Three years have passed since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no one Roman doctrine." In consequence of this and such like passages, the Hebdomadal Board determined to submit certain portions of the work to Convocation.

[c] Life of Bishop Wilberforce, i. 245.

Convocation accordingly assembled in February, 1845, when the Theatre was crowded with more than 1,200 members. Some obnoxious passages from the book were read, and Mr. Ward spoke in his defence. Two propositions were submitted: (1) That such passages were utterly inconsistent with the XXXIX. Articles, and with the declaration of Assent made and subscribed by Mr. Ward to those Articles when he took his B.A. and M.A. degrees, and with his good faith in making and subscribing the same; (2) That the said Mr. Ward had forfeited the rights and privileges enjoyed by the said degrees, and was therefore degraded from the same. The first proposition was carried by 777 to 386 votes, the second by 569 to 511, Mr. Gladstone, Archdeacon Manning[d], Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce, Keble, Moberly[e], Pusey, Gresley, and Hook in each case voting in Mr. Ward's favour. Dr. Tait, at that time Head Master of Rugby, warned his friends against stringent measures, being far-sighted enough to know that to the party to which they belonged, the Broad Church party, the same measure which was now accorded to the High Church party, would some day be meted out; so he voted for the condemnation of the book, but not of the author[f].

[d] Since Cardinal Manning.

[e] Late Bishop of Salisbury.

[f] Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce voted both for the condemnation of the book and also of the author.—Life of Bishop Wilberforce, i. 247.

But the wrath of the Hebdomadal Board did not stop here; they brought forward a third proposition with the old resolution condemning Tract 90; but now the Proctors, Mr. Guillemard of Trinity, and Mr. Church of Oriel[5], stepped in, and by their right of veto ("Nobis Procuratoribus non placet") prevented its being put to Convocation at all.

In June of the same year followed the condemnation by Sir H. Jenner Fust, the Dean of Arches, of Mr. Oakeley, Incumbent of Margaret-street Chapel, for claiming to hold, as distinct from teaching (as Mr. Ward had claimed), all the doctrines of the Church of Rome; his licence was revoked, and he himself prohibited from officiating in the Province of Canterbury till he should retract his errors.

On October 8, Mr. Newman wrote to some friends from Littlemore: "I am this night expecting Father Dominic, the Passionist. . . . I mean to ask of him admission into the One Fold of Christ." He was thus received into the Church of Rome; on February 23, 1846, he left Oxford.

On November 1 of the same year in which Mr. Newman seceded, Mr. Oakeley was received into the Roman Communion by Dr. Wiseman, in the chapel of Oscott: Ward, Faber, and some less conspicuous converts to Rome, followed in quick succession.

In the same eventful year Dr. Wilberforce, who

[5] The present Dean of St. Paul's.

that same year had suceeded Dr. Turton, promoted to the See of Ely, as Dean of Westminster, was raised to the See of Oxford in place of Dr. Bagot, translated to Bath and Wells.

The loss of such a man as Newman, in the prime of life, with the immense influence which he possessed over men of all communions, was nothing short of a national calamity; but his secession and that of others by no means detracts from the credit of the Oxford movement. When he left us, it is not to be wondered that some of his many admirers followed in the track of their great leader: the wonder rather is that the number was so small. We must pause awhile to reflect on the events which we have described, which have so materially affected the after-history not only of the Anglican Church, but of Christendom at large.

Undoubtedly many sincere and thoughtful Churchmen believe that the Oxford movement and the Tracts for the Times increased the tendency of migrations to Rome. A little reflexion will show that such was not really the case. Ever since the Reformation, migrations to Rome, sometimes more sometimes less in number, had been going on, but as a rule people left the Church, not on account of the approximation of its teaching to that of the Church of Rome, but because they underrated the position of the Church of England, when they saw that ultra-Protestantism strove to identify its doctrines and cere-

monies with those of the Conventicle. Such was the case in the reign of Elizabeth, of Charles II., and James II. It is true conversions to Rome became fewer in the eighteenth century; but it was because the Church of Rome was steeped in the general slumber, when religion was little cared for anywhere, and when there was but little choice between the sloth of England and the sloth of Rome. Certain, however, it is that conversions to Rome were common previously to 1833, and it is probable that they were diminished, rather than increased, by the Oxford movement.

The Oxford Revival did not aim at approximation to Rome, although it did not repudiate what Rome taught simply because Rome taught it. Newman professed that Tract 90 was written "as a remedy to those who were travelling Romewards," and he disclaimed all responsibility because the remedy was rejected. For many secessions to Rome it is certain that Protestant bigotry and intolerance, and not Catholic doctrine, are responsible. Many people are constitutionally prone to resistance, and the same people who under one chain of circumstances are induced to leave the English Church for that of Rome, would under another be violent abetters of Protestantism.

Ultra-Protestantism was in England the nursing-mother of Romanism. At the commencement of the Oxford revival, at the time when all parties were

lulled more or less in a placid indifference, the Tracts for a time found a more favourable reception amongst the Evangelicals than from the orthodox party, for the reason that of the two parties the Evangelicals were the less asleep, and therefore amongst them the receptiveness of life was stronger; the lethargic orthodox party, on the other hand, though fearing the danger of external change, feared still more an internal awakening [h]."

It must be observed that the chief of the seceders had been brought up in Evangelical principles, or in principles strongly at variance with the Church of England. When the mist was removed from their eyes, and the glories of the Catholic Church gleamed upon them, they were thrown off their balance; they were impatient in their desires, sensitive of opposition, and they saw in Rome, and Rome alone, the fulfilment of their aspirations. Dr. Newman himself has told us that in his early years he was a Calvinist after the stern model of Thomas Scott, the commentator, of whom he always remained a warm admirer: in such principles also were Ward, Oakeley, and Faber reared [i]. The Church

[h] It was still the "quieta non movere" principle.

[i] So also was Mr. Sibthorpe, Incumbent of St. James', Ryde, who seceded to Rome in 1841, but returned to the Church and reverted to Rome in 1864. So also were those who seceded after the Gorham judgment, Manning (now Cardinal), Dodsworth, the two Wilberforces, and Allies.

boasts that it is a kind of "Samaria[j]," a midway-house between Geneva and Rome, and if Churchmen must needs touch at the Anglican Church on their road from the former to the latter, the fault cannot justly be attributed to the *via media* of the Church of England, but to the seceders themselves.

It must be borne in mind, too, that the early seceders were almost forced out of the English Church through the action of the Bishops. A great awakening has, it is allowed on all sides, taken place; it was entirely due to the Priesthood, and met with nothing but opposition from the Bishops; the Bishops of the early part of the nineteenth century had learnt no lesson from their predecessors of the eighteenth, who did their best to drive John Wesley, a man who had greater influence than all the Bishops together, out of the Church. The Tractarians had been condemned by the Bishops almost without exception[k]. They had been told incessantly that they were Papists in disguise; that they were dishonest men, professing one thing and teaching another; till at length they began to believe it themselves. It was very hard to bear. To be stigmatized as Papists when they were writing strongly against Rome; violators of Rubrics when they were enjoin-

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[j] Apologia, 267.

[k] See Bricknell's "Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology," 1837—1842.

ing obedience to the Rubrics[l]; upholders of human tradition when they were thanking God that the Church rested on no human names, but was derived from the Apostles; founders of a party when they advocated the maintenance of *One* Catholic Church; their position was unique; they were accused of being inventors of novelties and bigots of antiquity.

"Of all those," writes the Quarterly Reviewer[m], "who in these later years have quitted the Church of England for the Roman Communion—esteemed, honoured, and beloved as were many of them—no one, save Dr. Newman, appears to us to possess the rare gift of undoubted genius[n]." Dr. Newman has himself given us an account full of interest and instruction of the different processes through which he passed. He tells us how he was brought up in principles exactly the reverse of Catholic; how by education and choice he was in his early years a Calvinist, not without a tendency to scepticism. Yet he claims to have been always the same, only under Heaven-sent guidance; to have been from first to last under a continual state of progress and development; in the principles of dogma he was at all times equally clear; what he held in 1816 he

[l] Tract 69.

[m] Q. R., October, 1864.

[n] This was written in 1864, after the secession of Manning and the two Wilberforces; and if it was true then, it may be said with greater certainty that no convert beyond mediocrity has left us for the Church of Rome between that time and this.

held in 1833 and 1864, only having added articles to his faith*.

"When I was fourteen," he says, "I read Paine's Tracts against the Old Testament, and found pleasure in thinking of the objections contained in them." By the time he was twenty-one the doctrine which he had held "gradually faded away." His next teacher was Scott, the Commentator; Milner's Church History, and Newton on the Prophecies exercised a strong influence upon him. In 1822 he came under the influence of Hawkins, through whom he became acquainted with Sumner's "Treatise on Apostolical Preaching," from which, he says, "I learnt to give up my remaining Calvinism, and to receive the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration." From Dr. Hawkins also he learnt the value of Tradition, which led to his abandoning the Bible Society, to which up to that time he had belonged. Dr. Whately, who was then Principal of St. Alban Hall, "emphatically opened my mind and taught me to think." In 1826 he became acquainted with Robert Wilberforce and Hurrell Froude, the latter of whom he accompanied in 1832 in a tour in the Mediterranean. At Rome they met with Cardinal Wiseman; the only service they attended there was the *Tenebræ* in the Sistine

* It was for these reasons he was charged with vacillation and untruthfulness, and to these charges we are indebted for the *Apologia*.

Chapel, and the only impression made upon Newman's mind was "All save the spirit of man is divine[p]." With Froude he remained on the most affectionate terms of friendship till the death of the latter in 1836[q]. His opinions "arrested and influenced me even when they did not gain my assent. He professed openly his admiration of the Church of Rome and his hatred of the Reformers...and he gloried in accepting tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching." "He could not believe that I really held the Roman Church to be Antichristian." "It is difficult to enumerate the precise additions to my theological creed which I derived from a friend to whom I owe so much. He made you look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence."

We must briefly sum up the processes through which his mind passed at this period of his life. He describes himself as at one time an Anglo-Catholic, and as seeing Antichrist in Rome; he falls back upon the *via media*, and when that broke down

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[p] On his way homeward, the vessel in which he travelled was becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio, and it was there that he wrote the beautiful hymn commencing "Lead, kindly light."

[q] In 1833 he brought out his "History of the Arians," in writing which he "saw the ghost which eventually drove him to Rome."

he was left "very nearly a pure Protestant;" again he has a "new theory made expressly for the occasion, and is pleased with his new view[r];" he rests in "Samaria" before he finds his way over to Rome. Still his standpoint all along had been what the great Anglican Divines had held, that the English Church is a true branch of the Catholic Church, and that it held all the essential parts of Catholicity; he saw the novelty of all that is distinctively Roman, the antiquity of everything that is distinctively Anglican.

The first great difficulty in his path dawned upon him in 1839. He tells us how in that year "about the middle of June I began to study the history of the Monophysites. I was absorbed in the doctrinal question. It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came upon me as to the tenableness of Anglicanism." The idea flashed across his mind that the English Church is in the position of the Monophysite heretics of the fifth century. "By the end of August I became seriously alarmed. . . . My stronghold was antiquity. Now here in the middle of the fifth century I found, as it seemed to me, the Christendom of the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite." "It was difficult," he says, "to make out how the Eutychians, or Mono-

[r] Apologia, 269.

physites, were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also[s]." Whilst he was in this dilemma, "a friend, an anxiously religious man, now and then very dear to me, a Protestant still, pointed out the palmary words of St. Augustine, 'Securus judicat Orbis terrarum' . . . they decided ecclesiastical questions on a simpler rule than that of antiquity. . . . By these great words of the ancient Father the theory of the *via media* was absolutely pulverized[t]." This new rule of the *Securus judicat Orbis terrarum* "decided ecclesiastical questions in a simpler rule than that of antiquity;" he split up the theory of St. Vincent of Lerins, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, and preferred the theory of *universality* to that of *antiquity*, which latter, in his opinion, Rome had not and England had. Yet notwithstanding the Monophysite struggle that was going on within him, he was still satisfied with his position in the English Church. "The thought for the moment had been 'the Church of Rome will be found right after all;' then it had vanished; my old convictions remained as before[u]." But whilst pursuing his reading of St. Augustine, "the ghost had come a second time. I saw that in the history of the Arians, the pure Arians were the Protestants, the Semi-Arians the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was[x]."

[s] Ibid., 207. [t] Ibid., 212. [u] Ibid., 213.
[x] Ibid., 243.

Still he felt truly at home; he applied to himself the words of Bramhall: "Bees by the instinct of their nature do love their hives, and birds their nests." But "I did not suppose that such sunshine would last, though I knew not what would be its termination[y]." But the end was evidently drawing near. Then followed the publication of Tract 90. Soon afterwards the matter of the Jerusalem Bishopric. "This," he said, "was the third blow which finally shattered my faith in the Anglican Church." He began to feel "there are but two alternatives, the way to Rome and the way to Atheism; Anglicanism is the half-way-house on one side, and Liberalism is the half-way-house on the other[z]." But still there was uncertainty in his mind as to taking the final step. As late as January, 1845, the prospect of Rome was so little encouraging that he wrote, "The state of the Roman Catholics is so unsatisfactory. This I am sure of, that nothing but a simple, direct call of duty is a warrant for any one leaving our Church; no preference for another Church; no delight in its services; no hope of greater religious advancement in it; no indignation; no disgust at the persons and

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[y] Apologia, 155.

[z] He was from the first very angry with the Liberals. So indignant was he about the matter of the consolidation of the Irish Bishoprics and the part the Bishop of London took in it, that he refused the offer made by him of one of the Whitehall Preacherships.

things amongst which we find ourselves in the Church of England. The simple question is, Can *I* (it is personal), not whether another, Can *I* be saved in the English Church?" He left us, and on January 20, 1846, he wrote to a friend: "You may think how lonely I am. 'Obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui' has been in my ears for the last twelve hours. . . . I left Oxford for good on Monday, February 23, 1846. . . . I have never seen Oxford since, except the spires as they are seen from the railway[a]."

Did he ever forget his first love? His life since that time shows plainly that he bore too strong a love for the English Church to be a thorough Papist; long afterwards he discarded all idea of proselytising from her, except "an Anglican should come to him after careful consideration and say, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, and that yours *alone* is it[b].'" A remark by Dr. Döllinger is appropriate: "If Newman, who knows early Church history so well, had possessed equal knowledge of modern Church history, he never would have become a Roman Catholic."

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[a] Since then he has visited it once, and stayed in his old College, Trinity, of which he is now an Honorary Fellow.

[b] The author has seen a letter to the same purpose from him to an Oxford man, who having gone over to Rome contemplated a return to the English Church.

CHAPTER III.

THE CEREMONIAL REVIVAL AND THE LAW COURTS.

THE object of Tractarianism was to restore Catholic doctrine, and it was eminently successful amongst the higher and more cultivated classes of society. But the Church Services, even after the Tractarian movement, were often marked with coldness and formality little suited to the middle and lower classes of the people. The object of what people call Ritualism—a word diverted from its proper meaning of "Knowledge of Ritual" into the practice of religious ceremonies—was to revive that outward Ceremonial which had gone out, together with religion, in the Georgian era.

In regard to Ritual, the Anglican Church was at a disadvantage compared with other bodies of Christians, for, although there are thousands to whom, from its associations and literary merits alone, the Prayer-Book is, and always will be, endeared, there are others, such people, for instance, as have been accustomed to the hearty services of the Wesleyans, who miss in our ordinary services anything external to arrest the attention or to fix the eye. The question was, how were the middle and lower classes

of the people to be reached? To meet this question; to raise the ceremonial; to make the services more attractive; to adapt them not only to the feelings of the more educated, but to the feelings and requirements of a mixed congregation, was the object of Ritualism.

The first thing to be remarked about Ritualism is, that every kind of religion must of necessity be more or less ritualistic. From the time of the Mosaic dispensation to the present day it has always been so; every one who has read his Bible is aware of the high Ritual that was prescribed in the Jewish services, and the Jewish idea of ritualistic religion has never been abandoned in the Catholic Church. The spire with its "silent finger pointing towards heaven;" the cruciform church; the different parts into which churches are divided—the nave with its triple aisles; the elevated chancel; the font at the entrance of the church; the use of the cross; standing, kneeling, sitting, all are ritualistic. So also in the highest services of the Church. Are not the Sacraments eminently ritualistic? The Church Catechism teaches that there is in them an outward sign, as well as an inward grace. No one imagines that the Water in Baptism, or the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, are the whole Sacrament; every one knows that they are symbolic, and therefore ritualistic. And herein lies the whole value of Ritual; it is valuable so far, and only so far, as it represents

and sets before us inward truths by outward signs; only so far as it is symbolical. Take away the symbolism of the two Lights upon the Altar, or of Incense, or Vestments, and these things return to their intrinsic value.

We need not go further than our own Church to trace the connexion which exists between Ritual and religion. When St. Augustine first came to England, and wished to make King Ethelbert look favourably upon his mission, he availed himself of all the adjuncts which Ritualism could supply. We are told how the missionaries approached the King in procession; how one bore a lofty silver Cross; next followed another bearing a banner with a painted portrait of the Saviour; and all chanted Litanies. The striking scene riveted the attention of the heathen king; before long he himself became a convert to Christianity: together with Christianity Ritualism received its birth in England, and ever since an attachment to ritual observances has been a distinguishing feature in the English Church. Strict rules are prescribed as to the manner in which the services are to be performed. The Prayers are, not *generally* to be *read*[a], but to be *said* or *sung*, that is, either monotoned or intoned. The Litany

[a] The five Prayers after the Anthem are to be *read*, as also that for the High Court of Parliament, but it is generally prescribed that they are to be *said* or *sung*.

is to be *sung* or *said;* Canticles, Anthems, Psalms, each implies the accompaniment of music; the Liturgy (i.e. "The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or the Holy Communion") is capable of a high and splendid ritual, and a choral service. So that the question at once arises, not whether Ritual, but how much Ritual; whether Vestments, Incense, Two Lights on the Altar, if not enjoined in so many words, are not implied in the Rubrics?

Every one must have observed that of late years there has been an increasing attachment to externals, not confined to the Church. As riches increased, the houses of the gentry have increased in splendour; it was only natural that the House of God in its structure and worship should be marked with a relative advance also. There is a certain amount of æstheticism in every mind. The Puritans used to denounce the surplice as a "rag of Popery;" Mr. (afterwards Dean) Close once declared that "the Devil invented all Gothic Architecture." But the old land-marks between Church and Dissent have now vanished; Dissenters have not only discarded the prejudices of their ancestors, but have adopted forms and ceremonies which not many years ago would have been branded as highly ritualistic; their places of worship are no longer designated meeting-houses, but chapels and even churches; you no longer see the red-brick Ebenezers and Bethels of former times, but a style of architecture which throws

into the shade the churches built in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; they use surplices, and organs, and have choral services.

All these points are a witness to a craving that exists for Ritual; is it to be wondered that the Church adapts its services to the feelings and tastes of the nation? If Churchmen now-a-days dress their choristers in surplices, and the verger in a cassock, did not our ancestors of only fifty years ago delight in the gorgeous vestment of the parish clerk? And it must be observed that what is considered Ritualistic at one time passes unnoticed at another. Fifty years ago no Bishop would have thought of bearing his shepherd's crook; now there is nothing strange in it. Little more than forty years ago Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, and Dr. Phillpotts of Exeter, caused great commotions in their dioceses by recommending their Clergy to preach in their surplices. The *Times* newspaper wrote article after article on the subject: "If both the Bishops," it said, "stand firm in what they call their convictions they ought to retire from the Bench, and *if they are conscientious men they will retire!*"

It has been shewn in a former chapter how greatly the ceremonial of the Church had deteriorated in the eighteenth century, even to an extent threatening destruction to the fabrics of the Churches. Breaches in the law were at that time too common to excite comment; portions of the Rubrics had been

so long neglected that their very existence was forgotten; slovenly neglect had become so ingrained into the constitution of the Church that the Clergyman who restored a better state of things was certain to be looked upon as an innovator. It is true that, in the present day, the law of custom, which often means the law of idleness and neglect, throws its ægis over neglectors of the Rubric; it condones a practice, but it cannot unmake history. The decision of the late Dr. Lushington is conclusive on this point:—"By the Law of England," he says, "no statute passes into desuetude. It is true a statute may become obsolete in one sense, that is, not enforced. It is true that no call can be made on the judges of the land to enforce it; that by common consent a statute may lie dormant; but if once a Court is called upon to carry it into execution, it must do so."

It is evident that a revival in Religion necessitated a revival of Ritualism. Slowly and by degrees, and always under opposition, the ceremonial of the Church had to be restored. During the Church's slumbers the choral service fell into disuse. It did not enter into the Protestant's emasculated idea of worship; if he went to church at all he went to gratify his own taste, and to hear the anthem. He had a wrong idea altogether of the meaning of singing in church. The Catholic Churchman, on the contrary, even if he has no ear for music, approves

of the choral service, because it fits in with his idea of what a service ought to be; the highest idea of a church service being that "with Angels and Archangels and all the company of Heaven," he is engaged in a spiritual service, and therefore he delights to praise God in the Church's tone and language. So with the Catholic revival came also the revival of the choral Service.

Soon followed the work of church restoration. On the removal of a few coats of whitewash were discovered some fine frescoes. Some coarse masonry was cut away on the south side of the church, and there were discovered the ancient sedilia. Some mutilated excrescence in the wall suggested the credence. An unsightly hole in the neighbourhood proved to be a piscina. Surely these things were put there for some purpose; they showed the piety of our ancestors, and the neglect and barbarism of more modern times, and naturally suggested their adaptation to the purposes for which they were placed there. That credence was meant for the Bread and Wine; that piscina for the cleaning of the vessels used at Holy Communion; those sedilia for the Celebrant, the Gospeller, and Epistoler; so they were accordingly adapted to their proper use.

As an Ecclesiological or Ritual Revival had made little way in the first days of the Oxford movement, some people have imagined that it was because the Tractarians were opposed to Ritual. But such was

far from being the case. Dr. Pusey himself tells us that they "were very anxious about Ritual," and that "the circumstances were entirely different then from what they are now." "They shrank from caring for externals at the outset of their work, from introducing Ritual before doctrine had taken possession of the hearts of their people. It was like giving children flowers which would fade, wither, and die immediately. They had laboured rather to plant the bulbs which in good time would send forth their flowers flourishing abundantly and lastingly[b]." And again he said[c]: "As a matter of faith, there is of course not the slightest difference between the Ritualists and ourselves. The sole practical difference is that we taught *through the ear*, and the Ritualists teach *also through the eye*." In 1838 this defective Ritual began to be rectified when the Architectural Society, of which the late Mr. J. H. Parker, the author of several well-known books on Gothic Architecture, was the first Secretary, was founded at Oxford. This Society drew attention to the proper style and arrangement of parish churches. At the same time, the literature of church building was prominently brought forward in some articles written in the *British Critic*, the organ of the Oxford party; and as Littlemore was the first instance of the revived spirit of architecture

[b] Speech at Annual Meeting of E. C. U., 1866.
[c] Ibid., 1867.

in our churches, so the rebuilding of Leeds parish church under Dr. Hook, in 1839, must be regarded as the second. At Cambridge also, in 1839, was founded (by John Mason Neale, Mr. Benjamin Webb, and Mr. E. J. Boyce) the Camden Society, with its organ, the *Ecclesiologist*, the first number of which was issued in 1841, Mr. Webb, whilst still an undergraduate of Trinity College, being its Secretary. The Camden Society, in 1846, removed to London, under the name of the "Ecclesiological" Society, having for its object "the promotion of the study of Christian Art and Antiquities, more especially in whatever relates to the architecture, arrangement, and decoration of churches." In 1841 the Motett Society was founded for the purpose of reviving "the study and practice of the choral service of the Church[d]." Thus "the externals of divine service and the beauties of religious worship were brought into greater prominence[e]."

We must now come to that development in the Church Services which is popularly known as Ritualism. One of the great practical strides made of late in the education of the humbler classes has been the introduction of what are called Object Lessons, and

[d] In 1852 an amalgamation was effected between the Ecclesiological Society and the Motett Choir, which continued until 1862, when by an amicable arrangement it was dissolved.

[e] In 1845 stone altars were decided to be illegal by Sir H. Jenner Fust in Faulkner *v.* Litchfield.

such lessons are amongst the most popular in National Schools. Ritualism is the object lesson of religion[f], and may be considered as the complement of Tractarianism. Its object is to carry out the Apostolic precept, "Let all things be done decently and in order[g];" "let all things be done unto edifying[h]," "and to the Glory of God[i]." It may, we suppose, be assumed as granted that the ideal of a Church's service on earth should be as near an approach as possible to the service in heaven, where we are told there are white robes, incense at the Golden Altar, and seven lamps burning. This ideal of a Christian service being taken for granted, the question to be determined is, How much Ritual should there be? What is the kind of Ritual most suited to the worship of God? We propose in this chapter to treat the subject under two heads: (1) the Legality; (2) the Limits of Ritual; and then to give a short account of the present state of the Law Courts.

(1.) As to the Legality of Ritual. The first point to be decided is, what is the proper Vestment prescribed to be used by the Clergyman during divine service?

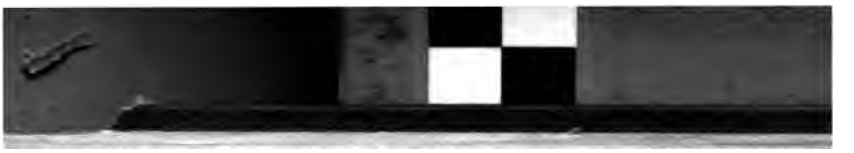
Every one knows that there is not a word in the Prayer-Book prescribing the use of the black gown; but neither is mention made from one end of the Prayer-Book to the other of the surplice. There is

[f] Dr. Littledale in Church and World, 1866, p. 36.
[g] 1 Cor. xiv. 40. [h] Ibid. 26. [i] Ibid. x. 21.

only one place, and that is at the commencement of the Prayer-Book, which prescribes the vestment which is to be worn by the Clergyman in church:—"And here is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward VI.[1]"

As to the vestments of the minister, the First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.'s reign contains two Rubrics. One of these directs the use of the surplice in ordinary ministrations, and that "Graduates when they do preach should use such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees." The other relates to the vestments appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion: "Upon the day and at the time appointed for the Ministration of the Holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the Holy Ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that Ministration, that is to say, a white Alb plain with a Vestment or Cope. And where there be many Priests or Deacons, so many shall be ready to help the Priest in the Ministration as shall be requisite, and shall have upon them likewise the vesture appointed for the ministering, that is to say, Albs with tunicles."

[1] The second year of his reign commenced January 28, 1548, and ended January 27, 1549.



In the first year of King Edward VI. there had been an excessive ceremonial, unsanctioned by the use of the Primitive Church; the object of those who drew up the first Prayer-Book of his reign was to purge out mediæval accretions, to substitute the English for the Latin language, and to adapt the book to the requirements of the Church. This Prayer-Book, which the Act of Uniformity attached to it pronounced to have been composed "under the influence of the Holy Ghost," was acceptable to a large majority both of Clergy and laity. But a small section were opposed to several things which still remained, especially the vestments, and, influenced by the Calvinistic reformers of the Continent, complained of the Service-Book as nothing short of the Roman Missal and Breviary, translated into the English language. A number of distinguished foreigners, at the invitation of Cranmer and the Protector Somerset, had settled in this country, and not understanding the English language, and knowing the book only through imperfect translation, were continually complaining of the Prayer-Book, and plotting for its alteration.

By such influences as these the young King was led towards a further review of the Prayer-Book, and in April, 1552, a new Prayer-Book (the Second Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.) appeared; the Act of Uniformity attached to it speaks of the First Prayer-Book "as a godly order agreeable to the word of

God and the Primitive Church," yet "because divers doubts and disputes had arisen as to the way in which the book was to be used . . . rather by the curiosity of the ministers than of any worthy cause," therefore the present book was now put forth. Scarcely had this new Prayer-Book come into use when the King died, and Queen Mary succeeded. The Prayer-Book was repealed, and the Latin Mass and its concomitant services again adopted. We now pass to Queen Elizabeth's reign. The new Queen had a difficult task to perform in uniting the discordant elements of the nation. She herself liked a *high* ritual; the ornaments in the Chapel Royal remained as they had been under her sister; there was a Crucifix on the altar, with tapers lighted before the Sacrament; incense was burnt and obeisance was made before the altar[k].

Cecil, her principal adviser, thoroughly understood the temper of the nation. The two principal parties in the Church were very active, the one desirous of abolishing Episcopacy altogether, and every rite and ceremony which was used by Rome, and to introduce the service and discipline of Geneva; the other (and amongst them were the Queen and Cecil) wished to introduce the First Prayer-Book of King

[k] "Stick to your text, Master Dean, leave that alone," she cried out to Dean Nowell, when he was preaching against the use of images.

Edward VI., and if any alterations were required, to remodel it in a *Catholic* rather than a *Puritan* direction. But as it was impossible to reconcile the Romanists, it was of great consequence to the government to enlist the support of the exiles who had lately returned from Geneva; and though neither her council nor the Queen herself had the slightest sympathy with Protestantism, the Council recommended that the Second Book of King Edward VI. should be attached to the Act of Uniformity.

The Queen, however, would not consent to this simple procedure, so a compromise was effected; the Book submitted to Parliament was the Second Book of King Edward VI. with a few alterations. The only alteration with which we are here concerned, made probably at the suggestion of the Queen, was a return to the Ornaments which had been prescribed under the First, but which had been discarded under the Second Book. The proviso enacting this ran thus: "Provided always and be it enacted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward VI., *until other order shall be taken*[1] therein by the authority of the

[1] Mr. James Parker, in his Letter to Lord Selborne, shewed conclusively that this "other order" was taken by the Queen in her Letter of 1560 issued in the manner required by the Act

Queen's Majesty with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England, for causes Ecclesiastical, or the Metropolitan of the Realm." The Rubric which incorporated the clause of the Act ran: "And here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., according to the Act of Parliament set forth in the beginning of the Book[m]." The question, perhaps, will be asked, why was it not enacted that the ornaments prescribed by the First Prayer-Book should be used, instead of the second year of King Edward VI. being mentioned? the answer is, that the First Prayer-Book contained no schedule of the ornaments then in use, and it was therefore determined that the ornaments should remain as they were by authority of Parliament *in the second year* of King Edward VI.

The Bishops and Clergy, however, were more lax about ceremonial than the Queen approved, and, in 1564, Cecil reported to her the incongruous manner in which the services of the Church were performed.

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of 1559, making rules for the addition of Lessons to the Calendar, and for the better ordering of chancels in churches.

[m] This Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth came into use in 1559.

He complained that some said the service in the chancel, some in the body of the church, some in a seat made in the church, some in a pulpit facing the people, some in surplices, some without. In some churches the Holy Table was in the body of the chancel, in some in the middle of the church, in some altar-wise near the wall; sometimes with a carpet on it, and sometimes without any covering. Some celebrated the Holy Communion in surplice and cope, some with only surplice, some with neither; some with a chalice, some with a common cup; some with unleavened, others with common, bread; some received kneeling, others standing or sitting; some baptized in a font, making the sign of the Cross; some in a basin without the sign; some celebrated baptism in a surplice, others without; some went about in a square cap, others a round; some in scholars' clothes, and some without.

The Queen was angry with the Bishops for allowing such an indecent system to prevail, and ordered Archbishop Parker to take such steps as were necessary to promote better order. With the view of promoting greater uniformity, Parker, on March 3, 1565, sent to Cecil a "Book of Articles," requesting that the Queen would license them, but "she misliked them altogether." He next, on March 28, 1566, presented to the Queen certain ordinances known as "Advertisements," which prescribed a *minimum* of Ritual to be observed; in cathedrals the

celebrant at the Holy Communion was to wear a cope, the Gospeller and Epistoler being vested agreeably. There is no reason to suppose that these Advertisements were meant by Parker to forbid the vestments prescribed by the First Prayer-Book, but only to enforce *some* discipline in parish churches, and *more* in cathedrals. Parker knew that the Queen approved of a high Ritual; she had probably intended that a more, and not a less, ornate Ritual should be uniformly adopted. The Advertisements do not in any way affect the Ornaments Rubric of the First Prayer-Book, nor can they be considered as the taking of further orders spoken of in the proviso; nor is there any evidence to show that the Queen at any time even saw them [n].

Certain, however, it is, that some Bishops who disliked Ritual, taking advantage of the Advertisements, not only contented themselves with the *minimum* required, but did their best to establish it as the *maximum*, and the Eucharistic Vestments were

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[n] Archbishop Parker states in a letter to Cecil of March 28, 1566, that he had not got the Queen's authority for the Advertisements; and Strype tells us that Cecil's own copy was endorsed with the words, "These not authorized nor published." For further proof, if such were necessary, see Appendix A. of this work, which contains an extract from a Letter of Archbishop Grindal to Hierom Zanchius in 1571 (that is, some years after the Advertisements), complaining that no alteration was made in the law by the Queen.

either destroyed or turned to profane uses. The Advertisements in time came to be accepted as law; the twenty-fourth Canon of 1604 enjoining the use of the cope in cathedrals and collegiate churches, expressly adds, "according to the Advertisements published anno 7 Elizabeth." But that the Canons were intended to enforce only a minimum use is evident, for the fifteenth Canon prescribes only that the Litany should be *said* or *sung* on Wednesdays and Fridays, but it has never been contended that that Canon was meant to abrogate the Rubric which prescribes daily Morning and Evening Prayer. At the Restoration, however, the new Act of Uniformity (we cannot suppose carelessly, but deliberately) passes over the Second Book of King Edward VI., the Advertisements in the reign of Elizabeth, and the Canons of 1604, and introduces an entirely new Rubric: "And here it is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of King Edward VI[*]." It is impossible to suppose that such a learned Ritualist as Cosin, who took the prominent part in arranging the Prayer-Book of

[*] "Legally, the ornaments of ministers in performing Divine Service are the same now as they were in the 2nd Edward VI." —Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 363.

1662, with the knowledge of the two Prayer-Books of Edward VI., the Advertisements, and the Canons, could have deliberately framed a Rubric stating one thing, when it meant exactly the opposite [p].

Why then were the alb and the vestment or cope disused? The answer is, because of their expense; the parishioners—that is, the Churchwardens who represented the parishioners—neglecting their duty to provide them. That custom is now equivalent to law [q] no one has disputed; but, said the Bishop of Exeter [r], no mean authority in a matter of Church Law, "If the Churchwardens of Helstone shall perform their duty, at the charge of the parish, providing an alb, a vestment, and a cope, as they might in strictness be required to do, I shall enjoin the minister, be he who he may, to wear them." And Dr. Blomfield, late Bishop of London, whose authority is second only to that of Dr. Phillpotts, taught his Clergy that "the present Rubric enacts, that all the ornaments of ministers, at all times of their ministra-

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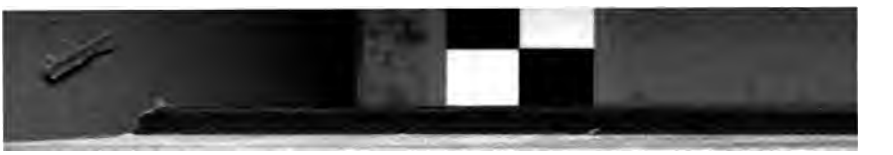
[p] "And then were in use, not a surplice and hood, as we now use, but a plain white Albe, with a Vestment or Cope over it; and therefore according to the Rubric we are still bound to wear Albe and Vestments as have been so long worn in the Church of God, however it is neglected."—Bishop Cosin's Notes on the Prayer-Book.

[q] So Bishop Cosin thought it sufficient in 1663 to demand of his Churchwardens: "Have you a large and decent surplice for your minister to wear *at all times of his ministration?*"

[r] Dr. Phillpotts.



tion, be the same as they were by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI.[s]."

That such was the law of the Church was decided in 1857 in the case of Liddell *v.* Westerton, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled that "the same dresses, and the same utensils or Articles, which were used under the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. may still be used." It is evident, therefore, that the Ritualists put no new interpretation on the Rubric. So far from this being the case, there is a well-nigh unbroken succession of authorities—legal, historical, and antiquarian—from the first existence of the Ornaments Rubric in its Elizabethan form to the Westerton judgment, affirming the sense in which the Ritualists hold it.

(2.) The legality of the ceremonial under the First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. being established by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the question arises as to the limits of Ritual which may be advisable in the present day. The Ritualistic movement, like every other movement which contains life and enthusiasm, has had its extravagancies; but we have a fair statement of the

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[s] Charge of 1842. See also Wheatly, On the Book of Common Prayer (a book frequently put by the Bishops into the hands of Candidates for Holy Orders), p. 103: "The other things prescribed . . . (though now grown obsolete and out of use) are the Alb, the Cope, the Tunicle, and the Pastoral Staff."

claims of Ritualists in a Resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the English Church Union in 1875, which prescribes the points which it is thought advisable to revive, and beyond which .Ritualists do not wish to pass:—"That, without intending to put all the following points on the same ground, nor wishing to go beyond what recognised Anglican authorities warrant as to their use, the English Church Union is of opinion that in order to bring about a generally satisfactory settlement of the present Ritual controversy in the Church of England, there should be no prohibition of the following usages when desired by clergy and congregations," viz.:—

(*a.*) The Eastward Position.
(*b.*) The Vestments.
(*c.*) The Lights.
(*d.*) The Mixed Chalice.
(*e.*) Unleavened Bread.
(*f.*) Incense.

All these points (as any one can find for himself) are sanctioned by the First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI., and therefore were pronounced to be legal by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, as well as by the Court of Arches.

The first church in which in recent times Ritualism (so called) was adopted seems to have been St. Thomas', Oxford, in which church the red chasuble

was used for the first time on Easter Day, 1850[t]. Two years after the legality of the vestments had been established in the case of Liddell *v.* Westerton, the Rector of St. George's-in-the-East, London, the Rev. Bryan King, who had been appointed to the Rectory in 1842, thought, that as other attempts had failed, a higher Ritual might perhaps be beneficial amidst the dens of vice in Wapping and Ratcliffe Highway, in a parish which was filled with beer-shops, dancing-saloons, sailors' boarding-houses, with all the evils which accompany them. From the first building of the church the parishioners and their Rectors had been in a state of chronic warfare, and as his predecessors had left but little mark for good on the parish, the Rector determined to try the effect of a more ornate service on his population of 39,000 souls.

About the time when Mr. King was appointed Rector, the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield) impressed upon his Clergy the duty of using the Prayer for the Church Militant, and preaching in the surplice; and it was through carrying out this simple direction of his Bishop that the Rector first drew on himself unpopularity. The Vestry went so far in their opposition to him as to pay an organist solely on the condition of his not performing his duty. Under such circumstances some of the congregation

[t] "And," said the Vicar to a friend of the Author, "I never had a single objection of any kind from any one"

subscribed in 1846 towards a choir with the view to a choral service; they afterwards presented the Rector with the Eucharistic vestments. He wore linen vestments, and increased the number of celebrations. In a short time he gathered round him 300 communicants, a thing hitherto unheard of in that ungodly neighbourhood. But the more the Church prospered, the more did the trade of the gin-palaces and the infamous houses decay; this was more than could be allowed: an organized conspiracy was set on foot to interrupt the services of the Church; the rabble, unchecked by the Churchwardens, gathered strength; and Sunday after Sunday St. George's became a scene of rioting and blasphemy. The culprits were brought before the magistrates, and if the Rector had been an Evangelical, would have received the punishment they deserved; the magistrates, had they chosen, might easily have put down this lawless profanity; but they objected to Ritualism and did not comprehend that it was religion, and only Ritualism as far as it was the successful instrument of religion, that was aimed at. We will illustrate this by another case which took place before a revival of Ritual was dreamt of. When, at the commencement of Bishop Blomfield's Episcopate, the first stone of the first church in the neighbourhood of Bethnal Green was laid, the inhabitants of that notorious neighbourhood, where shortly before a poor Italian boy had been brutally murdered by some infamous

"Burkers[u]," regarded the movement as an unwarrantable intrusion, and let loose an infuriated bull in the hopes of thus stopping the proceedings[x]. In the St. George's-in-the-East riots the magistrates were wanting in their duty. For nearly eighteen months the mob remained masters of the situation. By such means the Rector was driven from the parish. But what was the consequence? Ritualism had suffered, what always gives an impetus to a religious movement, persecution: the St. George's riots gave it an advertisement; the Ritual in the St. George's Church was, it is true, lowered, but this was more than compensated by its use elsewhere; it was adopted in the West End of London, at St. Mary Magdalen, Munster-square, and it soon spread over other parts of England. Ritualism took root in the very worst part of Wapping, where it had met with such strong opposition; under the self-denying labours of the Reverend Charles Fuge Lowder the church of St. Peter's, London Docks, was built, and Mr. Lowder became its first Vicar; and with such success did he employ the once proscribed Ritual, that before long he was able peacefully to parade the streets of his parish marking the stations of the Cross, the choir and Wapping roughs (amongst the number being some of the very leaders in the recent riots)

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[u] Whence the name "Burkers' Hill."

[x] Mem. of Bishop Blomfield, i. 245.

uniting in the procession, and joining in the hymns and litanies, with the respect of the assembled crowds.

On September 21, 1863, St. Alban's, Holborn, one of the noblest churches in England, and which has borne so prominent a part in the ceremonial movement, was consecrated; it was built at the sole expense of Mr. Hubbard, a city merchant, on the very site of a haunt known as the "Thieves' Kitchen." After a visit to St. Alban's, the late Dean of Westminster at once saw the firm basis on which Ritualism was established. "Well, Mr. Dean," the Bishop of London, Dr. Tait, asked him, "what did you see?" "Why, my Lord," answered the Dean, "I saw three men in green, and your Lordship will find it very hard to put those men down."

No account of the Church in the latter half of the nineteenth century would be complete without some notice of the Courts of Law, in which, since the year 1850, the Church has borne so conspicuous a part.

We learn from the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164 that the gradation of Appeals, as far back as the history of our Ecclesiastical Courts can be traced, was from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and lastly from the Archbishop, "if he should be wanting in justice," to the King; but even in the last event the cause was not to be taken out of the hands of the Archbishop, but was to be remitted to him to be determined in his

Court, and it could not proceed further—that is, an appeal to Rome was not allowed—without the King's consent[1]. With such jealousy was this appeal to Rome regarded by successive monarchs that it led in time to cases of appeal to Rome being restricted to testamentary and matrimonial affairs, and although other appeals were undoubtedly made to Rome, it was against the laws of the land, especially the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, and the final resort was legally to the Court of the Archbishop.

This state of things continued till 1533, when by the "Statute of Appeals" changes of enormous immediate and future consequences to the Church were effected. By that Statute the first encroachment on the spiritual jurisdiction was made; appeals to Rome were absolutely forbidden; the Archbishop's Court ceased to be the final resort, and an appeal was allowed to the King in Chancery; the tribunal known as the *High Court of Delegates* was established for all causes not touching the King, the Upper House of Convocation of each Province being substituted for all ecclesiastical causes whatsoever which "touched the King."

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[1] "Ab Archidiacono debent procedere ad Episcopum, ab Episcopo ad Archiepiscopum, et, si Archiepiscopus defecerit in justitiâ exhibendâ, ad dominum Regem perveniendum est postremo, cujus mandato Controversia in Curia Archiepiscopi terminetur; ita quod non debeat ultra procedere, absque assensu Domini Regis."

The power of the Court of Delegates was by the Statute full and final: as Delegates from the Crown the Commissioners were authorised to hear all ecclesiastical appeals from the Courts of the Archbishops, and to decree judgment and sentence without further appeal[1]. This court continued for about three centuries till 1832, when it fell into disfavour, and became, in 1830, the subject of a Royal Commission, which made its report in 1832. The evidence adduced tended to show that though the proceedings of the Court had been slow and dilatory, and objectionable from the fact that the reasons for its judgments were not published, yet that no substantial charge of injustice or excess of powers could be laid against it. The Commissioners, however, recommended the abolition of the Court and the transference of its right of hearing appeals to the Privy Council, the reasons given for the substitution of the Privy Council being the superior qualifications of its members, and the publicity given to the reasons of its judgments. The recommendation of the Commissioners was approved by the Crown, and the jurisdiction of the Court of Delegates transferred to the *whole* Privy Council, which, being composed of Lords spiritual as well as temporal, seemed to be a fitting tribunal to settle appeals from the Ecclesiastical Courts. But by a

[1] Commissions of Review were, however, allowable on application to the King in Council.

statute passed in the next year (1833) through an unfortunate mischance, the Supreme Court was transferred from the *whole* to the *Judicial Committee* of the Privy Council. An Act was passed for assimilating the process in Admiralty and Colonial Appeals, and the specification of the jurisdiction to be submitted to the new Court—the Judicial Committee of Privy Council—is most particular. Not one word occurs in the enacting clauses touching any cause o an ecclesiastical character, much less any doctrinal or spiritual causes. It is clear there was no intention of submitting any judgment of an Ecclesiastical Court to this tribunal[a]; but by a blunder of the draftsman of the Statute, who launched out into some vague and undistinguishing language, the Ecclesiastical Courts also became included in the Act[b].

For this statement the highest authority can be adduced. Lord Brougham, who was then Lord Chancellor, and who was the chief author of the Act, himself said that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was never framed with the expectation of ecclesiastical causes being brought before it; he had "no doubt that if it had been constituted with a view

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[a] It has been stated on the highest authority (the late Lord Cairns and Lord Selborne) that the Judicial Committee is not a Court of Law at all, but only a body whose duty it is to *advise* the Court on legal matters.

[b] Joyce's The Sword and the Keys, 1881, p. 96.

to such cases as the present (the Gorham case) some other arrangement would have been made." The Bishop of London—who with the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) and the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Kaye), sat on both Commissions, and approved of the first, which decreed an appeal to the *whole* Privy Council—said distinctly with regard to the second, "The question of doctrinal appeals was not alluded to," and that "the contingency of such an appeal came into no one's mind." When, therefore, people talk of the Bishops on the Commission approving of the change in the Court of Appeal, they must bear in mind that they were speaking of the first, not of the second, Commission.

Thus the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was constituted: a civil court entirely devoid of any spiritual jurisdiction, was appointed to try ecclesiastical causes. The committee consisted of about thirty persons, all of whom, except two, might be Dissenters; by statute three (although there was generally a larger number) formed a quorum; and they were selected by the Lord President of the Privy Council, who might himself be a Dissenter. The Archbishops and such of the Bishops as were members of the Privy Council were allowed to sit, but with what power does not appear: so that it comes to this, that the judges who by law could sit in judgment on matters of doctrine and discipline, decided by. Bishops and Archbishops and the Church's Courts, and

settle abstruse matters of doctrine, might all of them be Dissenters.

This continued till 1873, when Lord Selborne's "Judicature Act" made it lawful for the Crown to transfer the cases before the Judicial Committee to the new Court of Appeal constituted by that Act; but as under that Act only lay judges sat, a variation was made in ecclesiastical causes, it being provided that in such causes the Court of Appeal should be constituted of such judges, with such Archbishops or Bishops as assessors, as should be *determined by general* rules. These provisions, however, were repealed by the "Appellate Jurisdiction Act" of 1876, which restored the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, with the alteration that (in lieu of the provisions contained in the Church Discipline Act, that all Archbishops and Bishops who were Privy Councillors should be members of the Judicial Committee, and that no cause under the Act should be heard without the presence of at least one such spiritual peer) it was enacted that a number, to be fixed by Order in Council, of spiritual peers should sit as assessors to the Judicial Committee. An order in Council subsequently provided for the appointment of five assessors in rotation, with a provision that three at least should be present at each case [c].

[c] Report of Eccl. Courts Commissioners.

The procedure in ecclesiastical suits is exercised in the first instance by the Consistorial Courts of the several dioceses, in which the Chancellor of the Diocese sits as judge. From this Court an appeal lies to the Court of Arches, and thence to the Privy Council. Between 1840 and 1874 no suits for offences of Clergymen against the ecclesiastical laws could be instituted except under the "Church Discipline Act," which was passed in the former year. But in 1874 an alternative method of proceeding was provided by the "Public Worship Regulation Act," in cases of offences against what may generally be described as the Ceremonial Law of the Church. Under both statutes the Bishop of the Diocese has an absolute discretion as to whether he will or not allow proceedings to be taken; but with this difference, that under the former Act he is not bound to give any reasons for the course which he adopts, whilst under the latter, if he decides against proceedings being taken, he must state his reason in writing, the statement to be deposited in the Registry of the Diocese.

Until 1874 the Court of Appeal in the Province of Canterbury was the Court of Arches, the judge of which was styled the Dean of Arches; that of the Province of York was the Chancery Court of York. But the "Public Worship Regulation Act" of 1874, purporting to be "An Act for the better Administration of the Law respecting the Regulation

of Public Worship," enacted that when a vacancy should occur in the office of the Court of Arches, or in that of Auditor of the Chancery Court of York, the two Archbishops (subject to the approval of the Queen to be notified under her sign manual) should appoint the *same* official Principal, who must be a member of the Church of England, a barrister-at-law who has been in practice for ten years, or a person who has been judge of one of the superior courts of law or equity, or of any court to which the jurisdiction of any such court has been or may hereafter be transferred by authority of Parliament; if the Archbishops failed to appoint within six months, her Majesty might, by letters patent, appoint the judge; and the judge should combine in his person the two offices before held by the Dean of Arches and the Auditor of the Chancery Court of York.

We must now go back to days before the Public Worship Regulation Act received its birth. In 1850 the first blow to an honest subscription to the formularies of the Church was struck, when for the first time the Judicial Committee of Privy Council was called upon to decide a most important theological question. In the year 1846, the Reverend George Cornelius Gorham, formerly for eighteen years a Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, had been appointed by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst to the Vicarage of St. Just-in-Penwith, in the Diocese of Exeter, and in the following year he was appointed by the same

Patron to the Vicarage of Brampford Speke, in the same diocese. The Bishop of the Diocese (Dr. Phillpotts) having, during Mr. Gorham's tenure of the former Living, doubts respecting his orthodoxy, especially with regard to Holy Baptism, before instituting him to his new preferment, subjected him to an examination consisting of 140 questions to test his opinions. One of the questions was, "Does the Church hold, and do you hold, that all infants duly baptized are born again of Water and of the Holy Ghost?" Mr. Gorham's replies not satisfying the Bishop, the latter refused to give him institution [d].

Mr. Gorham had recourse to the forms of procedure entitled *duplex querela*. The case was first brought before the Court of Arches, the Judge of which, Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, delivered judgment on August 1, 1848. The judge complained of the complicated manner in which the cause was brought before the Court; he went through the case as deducible from the evidence submitted to him, and inferred from it that Mr. Gorham denied the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration as laid down in the Baptismal Service, and decided in favour of the Bishop.

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[d] "It is not generally known," says Dr. Littledale in the "Defence of Church Principles," "that Mr. Gorham's views on Baptism were so exceptionally crotchety that they nearly stopped his ordination by Dampier, Bishop of Ely, so long ago as 1811, twenty-two years before the first 'Tract for the Times' appeared."

Mr. Gorham then appealed from this decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council[e]. The Court complained of the vagueness and uncertainty of the pleadings which had been made before the Court of Arches, as well as in the examination of Mr. Gorham by the Bishop; and they consequently found it difficult to discern what his real doctrine was. They, however, extracted from the evidence, that the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham was this:— "That Baptism is a Sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but that the grace of Regeneration does not so necessarily accompany the act of Baptism, that it invariably takes place in it; that the grace may be granted before, in, or after Baptism; that Baptism is an effectual sign of grace, by which God works invisibly in us, but only in such as worthily receive it, in them alone it has a wholesome effect; and that, without reference to the qualification of the recipient, it is not in itself an effectual sign of grace. That infants baptized, and dying before actual sin, are certainly saved; but that in no case is Regeneration in Baptism unconditional."

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[e] The members who sat on this occasion were Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls; Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice; Mr. Baron Parke; Sir J. Knight Bruce; Dr. Lushington; Right Hon. Pemberton Leigh; the Archbishops of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner) and of York (Dr. Musgrave); and Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London.

Anything more unlike the doctrine professed by Mr. Gorham it is difficult to imagine. In his fifteenth answer to the Bishop he says: "Our Church holds, and I hold, that no spiritual grace is conveyed in Baptism except to *worthy recipients;* and as infants are by nature *unworthy* recipients, 'being born in sin and the children of wrath,' they cannot receive any benefit from Baptism except there shall have been a *prevenient* act of grace to make them worthy. *Baptism is the sign or seal of the grace already given, or of the repentance and faith which are stipulated and must be hereafter exercised.*" As to infants dying before actual sin, Mr. Gorham, while in answer 19 he admits that they are "undoubtedly saved," alleges this as a proof that "therefore they must have been regenerated by an act of grace prevenient to their baptism, in order to make them worthy recipients of that Sacrament."

The Privy Council, thereupon attributing to Mr. Gorham opinions which he did not hold, proceeded to consider, not whether the opinions which they attributed to him were theologically sound or unsound, but whether they were compatible with that "liberty which was left by the Articles and formularies, and which has actually been enjoyed and exercised by the members and ministers of the Church of England;" they delivered their judgment on March 8, 1850, in favour of Mr. Gorham, and

thereby reversed the judgment of the Court of Arches[f].

The case was then remitted to the Court of Arches, before which Court no further steps being taken, the Dean of Arches, acting for the Archbishop of Canterbury, instituted Mr. Gorham to the Vicarage of Brampford Speke. The Bishop of Exeter applied for a reversal of the judgment, first to the Court of Queen's Bench, then to that of Common Pleas, and finally to the Court of Exchequer, but without avail. He further wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he declared that if the Archbishop "obeyed the Queen's monition, he was a favourer and supporter of Mr. Gorham's heresies;" and that "I cannot without sin—and by God's grace I will not—hold Communion with him, be he who he may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears;" and he "renounced Communion with the Archbishop."

The country was thrown into a ferment by the judgment, although it will be seen from what has been stated, its importance as bearing on the doctrine of the Church and the latitude which is allowable to the Clergy, may easily be exaggerated, for the judgment was pronounced, not on what Mr. Gorham held, but on what the Privy Council *er-*

[f] The dissentients from the judgment were Bishop Blomfield and Vice-Chancellor Sir J. Knight Bruce.

roneously asserted that he held, and what Mr. Gorham, after he was inducted into the Living of Brampford Speke, himself denied that he did hold. But strong objections were felt to the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, the composition of which rendered it wholly unfitted for the settlement of such cases: and it was felt that spiritual questions ought to be decided by spiritual persons, and that the same justice in this respect should be allowed to the Church as is allowed to Dissenters. The Bishop of London introduced a Bill into the House of Lords which provided that all cases affecting doctrine should be transferred from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to the Upper House of Convocation, with power "to summon the judges or retired judges of the Ecclesiastical, Common Law, and Equity Courts." Lord John Russell objected that this could only end by substituting the supremacy of the Pope for that of the Queen. So, owing to the opposition of the Government, the second reading of the Bill was rejected on June 3 by 84 to 51 votes[g].

One episode of the Gorham case must be mentioned. In Michaelmas, 1850, Pope Pius IX., elated by the few converts who left the English Church after the Gorham judgment[h], thought the time pro-

[g] Memoirs of Bishop Blomfield, ii. 132.

[h] The principal amongst these were Archdeacon Manning,

pitious for re-establishing the Papal Hierarchy in England, with local and territorial titles to their sees. He divided England into twelve Dioceses, and appointed Cardinal Wiseman, an Englishman on his father's, and an Irishman on his mother's side (who was already known in England as Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium*), Archbishop of Westminster. The title of Cardinal brought with it unpleasant reminiscences. The Prime Minister, Lord J. Russell, wrote an intemperate letter to the Bishop of Durham, in which he denounced the movement as "a pretension over the supremacy of England . . . inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our Bishops and Clergy, and with the spiritual independence of our country as asserted even in the Roman Catholic times." He went out of his way to speak of "the mummeries of superstition," and "the endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul;" expressions which were directed against the Tractarians, whom he described in the same letter as "unworthy sons of the Church of England," and "leading their flocks to the very verge of the precipice."

We must pause to explain what had excited the anger of the Prime Minister. The Rev. W. J. E.

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now Cardinal and titular Archbishop of Westminster, and the two Wilberforces, brothers of the then Bishop of Oxford.

Bennett, then Incumbent of the aristocratic parish of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, moved by the duty he owed to his poorer parishioners, had built a church (St. Barnabas) in Pimlico, the poorest part of the parish, which was to be free, without payment, to rich and poor alike. "When he suggested to the rich men of Belgravia a church entirely for the poor, free to all, they marvelled, considered him an enthusiast, and would have none of these things[1]." The Ritual he introduced was such as would in the present day pass unmarked; there was a choral service, a Cross over the altar, and the eastward position was taken; in those days, however, it met with considerable opposition. The Premier inflamed the blind passions of Protestantism. Never was a more bitter controversy excited. There were public meetings, and protests, and denunciations; there were petitions to the Queen, and violent articles in the Press; the old cry of "No Popery" was raised; and every Sunday mobs attacked the lately-consecrated church of St. Barnabas, to which the Premier's letter referred. The Bishops shared in the general alarm; the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield), who was in advance of the time, and had, in many points as a Church reformer, and by his outspoken boldness in the Gorham case, done good service, on this occasion sacrificed a devoted parish priest to

[1] Sermon by Mr. Bennett at St. Barnabas, 1867.

popular clamour; and although the parishioners were strongly attached to their Incumbent; though the churchwardens tried to dissuade the Bishop from the course he was taking, and a legal opinion was obtained in favour of the Ritual at St. Barnabas, the Bishop called on Mr. Bennett[k] to resign his Living, which he accordingly did in March, 1851.

But the matter did not thus end. On February 7, 1851, Lord J. Russell brought a Bill into the House of Commons against the assumption by the Roman Catholic Bishops of any title taken from places in the United Kingdom[l]. Churchmen and Roman Catholics alike were opposed to the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill;" some people thought it went too far, others not far enough; in the midst of the agitation the Prime Minister (although for another cause) resigned, but after various futile attempts to form a ministry had failed, returned to power; the Bill, under the same opposition as before, was resumed; eventually (after the government had been defeated over and over again) it passed, simply as an Act against the public and ostentatious assumption of illegal titles: but no practical change was effected; the Roman Church made no alteration in its scheme; Cardinal Wiseman remained Archbishop of West-

[k] Afterwards defendant in Sheppard *v.* Bennett. Died 1886.

[l] Other provisions were at first inserted, but subsequently withdrawn.

minster, the other Roman Catholic Bishops retained their English titles, and in 1871 the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, having been a dead letter from the time of its enactment, was repealed.

We are not disposed, nor indeed would it be a profitable task, to enter at any length into the judgments of the Privy Council, judgments which often relate to the deepest matters of Faith, requiring to be handled with the greatest reverence. It must, however, be noticed that in one case, the Purchas judgment of 1871, the Judicial Committee (to use a common expression) turned its back upon itself, and entirely reversed its previous decision of 1857. In the Liddell *v.* Westerton case it had decided that the "same dresses, and the same utensils and articles which were used under the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. may still be used." It has been objected that this was a mere *obiter dictum;* but the same rule was afterwards laid down in Martin *v.* Mackonochie. But in the Purchas judgment we find this wonderful stultification of the previous judgment: "The vestment or cope, alb or tunicle, were ordered by the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. They were abolished by the Prayer-Book of 1552, and the surplice was substituted. They were provisionally restored by the Statute of Elizabeth, and by her Prayer-Book of 1559. But the Injunctions and Advertisements of Elizabeth established a new order within a few years of the passing of

the Statute, under which chasuble, alb, and tunicle disappeared. The Canons of 1603—1604, adopting anew this reference to the rubric of Edward VI., sanctioned in express terms all that the Advertisements had done in the matter of the vestments, and ordered the surplice only to be used in parish churches. The revisers of our present Prayer-Book in 1662, under another form of words, repeated the reference to the second year of Edward VI., and they did so advisedly, after attention had been called to a possibility of a return to the vestments." So the Judicial Committee reversed the judgments they had twice given, once in 1857, and again in 1868; they ruled exactly as if the Rubric of 1662, whilst saying that certain vestments were to be in use, meant precisely the same as if it had said they were *not* to be in use; and that the Statute of 1662 was repealed by the Canons of 1604, that is to say, by Canons which were drawn up fifty-eight years before the Rubric which sanctioned the vestments.

We must now revert to the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. The Prime Minister of the day, Mr. D'Israeli, who on a previous occasion (April 7, 1860) had stated in Parliament that the "High Church Ritualists and the Irish followers of the Pope had long been in secret combination and are now in open confederacy," confessed that it was a Bill for "putting down Ritualism," which he described as the "Mass in masquerade." Here was a direct challenge thrown

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of Ritualism was won. Open
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bury," and that all proceedings
should be "deemed to be taken i

and a mere officer of state[m]; that thus the constitutional rights of Convocation had been invaded. They held that it virtually suppressed, for certain causes, the Diocesan Courts, and, for all causes, actually suppressed the provincial Courts; that by the operation of the Act the spiritual jurisdiction of the Episcopate is in some cases practically suspended, and in others absolutely abolished; that by the office of the new judge the spiritual rights of the Priesthood are infringed, both in the courts of first instance and those of appeal; and that therefore the decisions of the new judge could not be recognized as preserving any spiritual authority over the consciences of Clergymen.

We must refer as briefly as possible to the decisions of the Law Courts on the six points which are claimed by the Ritualists.

(*a.*) Vestments.—The minister may not wear, nor sanction the wearing of a Chasuble, Dalmatic, Tunicle, or Alb. The Surplice is the only vestment prescribed for the parochial Clergy at all times of their ministrations, but "a Cope is to be worn in ministering the Holy Communion on high Feast-days in cathedrals and collegiate churches[n]."

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[m] This is confirmed by the fact that the present judge did not conform to the 127th Canon by taking the accustomed oaths and signing the XXXIX. Articles.

[n] Hebbert *v.* Purchas; Clifton *v.* Ridsdale; Coombe *v.* Edwards.

(*b.*) The Eastward Position.—This position during the Prayer of Consecration, is not unlawful, as long as the minister stands so that the communicants present, or the bulk of them, being properly placed, can see the breaking of Bread and taking the cup into his hands[o]; but he may not elevate the paten or cup over his head, nor kneel or prostrate himself before the Consecrated species[p].

(*c.*) Lights on the Altar.—Lighted candles may not be used on the Holy Table *ceremonially*, and not for the purpose of giving necessary light, during the Holy Communion[q].

(*d.*) The mixed Chalice.—Water may not be mixed with the wine during celebration[r], nor previously[s].

(*e.*) Unleavened bread.—Only such bread as is usually eaten may be used at Holy Communion; this, however, refers only to the composition of the bread, not to its shape[t].

(*f.*) Incense.—This may not be used ceremonially[u].

It is deserving of notice that almost all these Ritual prosecutions have been of Clergymen holding benefices not in country villages but in populous towns. The prosecutors profess to intervene in behalf of the aggrieved laity, and yet in the large parishes, such as St. Alban's, Holborn, Miles Platting, and at Bor-

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[o] Clifton *v.* Ridsdale.
[p] Martin *v.* Mackonochie.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Ibid.
[s] Hebbert *v.* Purchas; Clifton *v.* Ridsdale.
[t] Clifton *v.* Ridsdale.
[u] Martin *v.* Mackonochie.

desley, so in accord were the parishioners with their Clergy, that the three aggrieved parishioners required under the P. W. R. A. could with difficulty be procured. In all grades of society the person who "has a grievance" is always found to exist, but generally he is voted a nuisance, to be avoided rather than encouraged. But under the P. W. R. Act the prosecutors must find three parishioners of full age, who *feel aggrieved*, and then they may, if they can obtain the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, institute proceedings against a Clergyman for Ritualism. That there should be three is requisite; but there is no requirement as to the characters of the three.

And now a few words; firstly, as to the general character of the Ritual prosecutions; and secondly, as to the character of the grievances supposed to have been suffered by the "aggrieved parishioners."

Firstly, as to the general character of the Ritual prosecutions. The Ritual prosecutions were not of the nature of *civil* suits for breach of contract, whereby the accused clerks enjoyed their offices and stipends, but were *criminal* proceedings for the breach of Statute Laws penally enforceable.

The first and indispensable requirement in all English criminal procedure is, that the offence charged upon the accused must be expressly and by name prohibited by law. It is not enough that it should be morally wrong, nor even that it should be exactly of the same class and kind as some other acts which

have been prohibited; if it is not definitely named and forbidden, it is no legal crime, and the accused is entitled to acquittal on that ground alone, no matter what the turpitude of his conduct, or the completeness of the proof by which the guilt is brought home to him. Thus embezzlement for breach of trust was not until 1862 a legal offence, and though a very gross form of theft, persons charged with it till then always escaped legal penalties.

We may illustrate the above assertion by a case which happened in 1886. A solicitor entrusted with a large sum of money for investment appropriated it to his own use, he was charged with embezzlement, and the facts were proved against him. But he was acquitted, because the sum had been paid him neither in coin nor in bank-notes, but by cheque, and a cheque is not "money" in the technical language of the law.

Now to apply this to the Ritual suits. There has been only one legal provision against vestments ever current in England—the Ornaments Rubric of the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., which was repealed in 1553 and never re-enacted. The Ornaments Rubrics of 1559 and 1662 are admitted by the Knightsbridge judgment to permit, and by the Folkestone judgment to compel, the use of the vestments, unless (as the latter finding adds) some other legal document overrides the present Ornaments Rubric. Without discussing here the question as to the "read-

ing in" of the Advertisements of 1564, it is plain that in these Advertisements (which were directed against Puritan *defect* and not High Church *excess* of Ritual) not one word is said of the vestments; so that even if the Advertisements were law ten times over, this silence precludes them from rendering the use of the vestments criminal. The fact, therefore, cannot be overlooked that no statute, rubric, canon, advertisement, or injunction now in force can be produced forbidding the vestments, and therefore no *crime* could have been committed by those who wore them, whereas there *is* a rubric in force which admittedly enjoins them.

Secondly, as to the character of the grievance supposed to have been suffered by the "aggrieved parishoners." Of one and all of the prosecutions undertaken by the Church Association it may be said there was no genuine case of an aggrieved parishioner with a true *locus standi* in the parish coming forward to prosecute. In the Purchas case, as in the Liverpool case which is now pending, there was no parish annexed to the church; the prosecutors were mere outsiders, who never attended for worship the churches in question. In the Prestbury case the prosecutor was a Dissenter. In the Hatcham case, one prosecutor was a Dissenter, another a man in favour of whose character little was spoken. In the Miles Platting case, the prosecutors were outsiders and Dissenters: in the Mackonochie case, the prosecutor had only a

footing in the parish by a legal fiction, as paying a school-building rate in the district, whilst he never attended St. Alban's Church. A similar hitch affected the Bordesley case.

On June 3, 1867, a "Ritual Commission" was appointed to report and "to suggest alterations, improvements, or amendments," in the Rubrics, orders, and directions of the Prayer-Book, "for regulating the course and conduct of public worship . . . and more especially with reference to the ornaments used in the churches and chapels of the said united Church, and the vestments worn by the ministers thereof at the time of their ministration." Also as to alterations that might "advantageously be made in the Proper Lessons appointed to be read in morning and evening prayer on the Sundays and holidays throughout the year, and in the calendar with the table of First and Second Lessons contained in the said Book of Common Prayer." It was a fair attempt on the part of the government of the day to deal with the question, and the Committee, which comprehended representatives of all schools of thought, was not unfairly constituted. The Commissioners began their sittings on June 20, and held one hundred and eight meetings, the last being on June 28, 1870. They issued four reports: the first on August 19, 1867; the second, April 30, 1868; the third, January 12, 1870; the fourth, August 31, 1870. The first and second Reports led to no legislative results;

but in two respects the Ritual Commission did a useful service, and to it we are indebted for two important Acts of Parliament passed in compliance with the previous decisions of Convocation, viz. the New Lectionary Act, and the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, commonly known as the Shortened Services Act: the former the result of the third Report sanctioning a New Table of Lessons, which on January 1, 1879, became the only legal Lectionary, and the latter the result of the fourth Report. By this last Act the Ordinary may on any Sunday, where the full Morning and Evening Services have been performed, authorize a third service constructed of Prayer-Book and Scriptural materials; and he may on special occasions allow the use of an extraordinary service similarly constructed.

From one cause or another amongst all classes of people, even those who have little sympathy with Ritualism, the P.W.R.A. and the Court established by it have come to be regarded as a public scandal, we had almost said, a public nuisance. English people do not like persecution. Four Clergymen have been sent to prison for a matter of conscience, and another is threatened; Mr. Purchas, had he not been hounded to death, would probably have met with the same fate. The claims of the State and of the Law Courts are at variance with the basis on which the union of Church and State rests. The State claims "Magna Charta" as the foundation of

civil liberty; by it the rights of the Church are equally established; for the very first article of Magna Charta guaranteed "quod libera sit Ecclesia." The Act of Appeals in the reign of Henry VIII. decreed that there are in this realm two bodies; "the spirituality and temporality. *The body spiritual whereof having power when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question*, then it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the body politic called the spirituality, *which hath always been thought, and is at this hour sufficient and meet of itself to declare and determine such doubts as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain.*"

The Clergy, even when dealing with such an arbitrary monarch as King Henry VIII., refused to acknowledge his unqualified supremacy over the Church, and only consented to do so with the important proviso of "quantum per Christi legem licet" ("so far as is permitted by the law of Christ").

A message sent by Queen Elizabeth to her Parliament stated, that her Majesty's pleasure was that "from henceforth no bills concerning religion shall be preferred or received into this house, unless the same shall be first considered of and liked by the Clergy." The Royal Declaration prefixed to the XXXIX. Articles sets forth, "If any difference arise about the external Policy, concerning the Injunctions, Canons, and other Constitutions whatsoever thereto (the Church) belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation

is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under our Broad Seal so to do." And the XXXVIIth. Article declares, "We give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, ... but *that only prerogative*, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers."

So glaring had the anomalous state of things become, and so wide-spread a dissatisfaction was felt at the disrepute into which the law had fallen, that in 1881, on the application of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, a Royal Commission was appointed "to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, as created or modified under the Reformation Statutes of the 24th and 25th years of King Henry VIII. and any subsequent Acts." The Commission consisted on the whole of persons well qualified to take cognizance of the question to be submitted to it. It held its first session on May 30, 1881, and its last on July 13, 1883, holding in all seventy-five meetings, and showed an honest desire to arrive at the facts of the case: it was enabled to issue its Report in August, 1883. The early part of the Report states the objections which were brought against the existing Courts. These we briefly summarize:—That, the decisions given

by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have been dictated by policy [x], and whilst being rigid in the enforcement of a Ritual conformity, they have been lax in heresy, and opposed to the principles of theological interpretations. That, the interpretations of the formularies, the exposition of the traditions, and the infliction of spiritual censures, have been entrusted to persons of no theological education; that, there is no representation of the voice of the Church except in the utterances of Episcopal Assessors, which may be utterly disregarded; that, no expression is given to differences of opinion which may exist amongst its members; and that, the Court may be packed by the high officer of State, who summons the members of the Judicial Committee as he thinks proper. Another objection was that, as an historical fact, it was never intended to give to the Crown the consideration of questions of heresy. There is no evidence that the Court of Delegates decided in doctrinal causes except in one or two questionable causes, and that at a period when the proper procedure

[x] Of the judgment in the Purchas Case, the late Sir J. T. Coleridge spoke as "repealing the rubric which it meant to interpret." Sir Fitzroy Kelly, one of the judges in the Ridsdale Case, said that judgment was "based upon policy and not law," and that it was "iniquitous." As far back as 1637, in the famous case of Ship-money (see Mac. Hist., i. 91), Lord Clarendon says the Judges of the Exchequer (acting on policy) "gave as law from the Bench what every man in the hall knew not to be law."

was forgotten, through the abeyance of Synods. Then it was objected that by the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 an entirely new and unconstitutional principle was introduced. By that Act the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York were required to select the same official Principal, and if they could not agree, the election fell to the Crown; thus the principal Judge of the Church of England was divested of his spiritual character and treated simply as an officer of the State. The present titular Dean of Arches appeared to hold this view of his position, for on assuming office he had not taken the accustomed oaths, nor complied with the ecclesiastical conditions which had been fulfilled by his predecessors. Attention was also directed to the fact that in its working the Act had been applied to repress alleged excesses of Ritual, and not to enforce the observance of the plain directions of the Rubrics. The objectionable character of ecclesiastical legislation proceeding from Parliament alone without reference to Convocation was pressed; as also the punishment of imprisonment for disobedience, and the non-existence of any tribunal for the trial of Bishops and Archbishops.

As the Report has hitherto led to no practical result, we must content ourselves with noticing the recommendations of the Commissioners with regard to the Courts for dealing with questions of heresy and breaches of the Ritual law for the future. They

recommend the revival of the Diocesan Courts, and that the Church Discipline Act, the Public Worship Regulation Act, and other enactments inconsistent with the constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts proposed by them shall be repealed. But their most important recommendation is with regard to the Final Court of Appeal, which they ground on the basis that every subject, if he feels himself aggrieved, has a right of appeal to the Crown. They claim that their scheme must be regarded as a whole, and on the understanding that the earlier Courts should consist of spiritual judges, they propose that the Final Court of Appeal should be composed exclusively of lay judges learned in the law, who may, on the motion of any one of their Court, apply to the Archbishops and Bishops for information on points of doctrine or ritual. The members of the Court must declare themselves to be members of the Church of England, and the quorum is to consist of five, who need not give their reasons; but if they do so, each shall deliver his judgment separately. The Commissioners are also of opinion that a provision should be made for the trial of criminous Archbishops and Bishops, and for compelling them to obey the law.

It is evident that this proposal as to the Final Court will never satisfy the Church. A preferable plan would be that the Courts of first instance should consist of civil judges, and the Court of Appeal of

spiritual persons, rather than that the civil power should override the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts. What security would there be against a renewal of the practices which have met with such general condemnation under the Judicial Committee of Privy Council? What between objections from Churchmen against this part of the Report, and of Erastians and Dissenters against other parts, there is, we imagine, but slight chance of the scheme of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commissioners being carried into effect.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH PROGRESS.

THAT the last fifty years have witnessed a marvellous revival in the Church is admitted on all sides. Fifty years ago the Church seemed to be *in extremis;* in many pious minds a fear existed that "the axe must be laid to the root of the tree," and the verdict issued, "Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?"

Much required to be done before the Church attained the efficiency which we witness in the present day. Such scandals had crept into it as to render legislation indispensable, and though we may question the principle of robbing the Church with one hand in order to endow it with the other, there can be no doubt that to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the present vitality of the Church is in a great measure attributable. Still an important change was made in the position of the Church by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The State then violated the fundamental principle of the inviolability of Church property; it started the innovation that the Church is one large corporation with common property, which may be devoted to the general purposes of the Church, as the State thinks fit to enact.

In 1835 two Commissions were issued to consider the present state of the dioceses of England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, with a view to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and the prevention of what amounted almost to a necessity, Bishops holding benefices *in commendam;* to consider the state of cathedral and collegiate churches; and to make the best provision for the cure of souls, with especial reference to the residence of the Clergy in their respective benefices.

On their recommendation the Ecclesiastical Commission was incorporated in 1836[a]. A state of things was brought to light which surprised even the sincerest admirers of an Established Church. The revenues of the Church, notwithstanding its spoliation in the sixteenth century, were large, but unequally distributed. Of the whole income of the Church, amounting to £3,490,497, no less a sum than £435,046 went to the Bishops and other dignitaries; it was also very unequally distributed amongst the Bishops; for whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury enjoyed an income of £18,090; the Bishop of London of £13,890; of Durham £19,480; the Bishopric of Oxford, which up to that time consisted

[a] 6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 77. The constitution of the Commission was altered in 1840, by 3 and 4 Vict. c. 113; again by 14 and 15 Vict. c. 104; and 23 and 24 Vict. c. 125.

only of the county of Oxford[b], had only £1,600; of Rochester, £1,400; of Llandaff, £1,170; whilst the See of Gloucester, at that time unconnected with Bristol, was worth only £700 a year.

Under such circumstances the Bishops themselves were frequently pluralists. At one and the same time, the Bishops of Llandaff, Oxford, and Rochester were respectively Deans of St. Paul's, Canterbury, and Worcester. The Bishops of Gloucester and of Lichfield held stalls at Westminster. The Bishop of Carlisle was a Prebendary of St. Paul's; the Bishop of St. David's was Dean of Durham and Dean of Brecon as well.

So also amongst the other Clergy the benefices were of very unequal value. Whilst some were very lucrative, 2,623 Livings were under £120 a year, and 2,713 others under £220; and there were eleven, one of which contained 800 inhabitants, under £10; so that of the total number of Livings exceeding 10,000, one half were less than £220 a year, and one fourth under £120; there were also 4,000 Livings without houses fit for residence[c].

If considered with regard to the amount of work done, the inequality of Livings was still more glaring;

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[b] In 1836 the county of Berks was added to it, and so, Windsor being in Berkshire, the Chancellorship of the Garter was transferred from Salisbury to Oxford.

[c] Two Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Origin and Progress of the Ecclesiastical Commission (1863).

for whereas some small country Livings were worth £3,000, £4,000, and even £7,000 a year, large parishes in London, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, containing 20,000 or 30,000 inhabitants apiece, often paid their Clergy less than £150 a year, and that frequently dependent upon pew-rents.

To remedy this state of things, three Acts of Parliament were passed, the "Episcopal," the "Pluralities," and the "Cathedral" Acts. By the Episcopal Act of 1836 the rule which had prevailed since the Reformation, when the population was only four millions, was broken through, and two new Sees, those of Ripon and Manchester, were formed, and the translation of Bishops was, by nearly equalizing the revenues of all but the five principal Sees[d], to a great extent obviated. The number of twenty-six Bishoprics, however, seemed to be considered inviolable; the Diocese of Ripon, to the Bishopric of which Dr. Longley, Head Master of Harrow, was appointed in 1836, had been provided for by the union of Gloucester and Bristol; and it was proposed in like manner to unite Bangor and St. Asaph, in order to make a place for the See of Manchester. So, on the death of Dr. Carey, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1846, the opportunity occurred of uniting the two dioceses under Dr. Bethell, Bishop of Bangor; he,

[d] These are Canterbury, York, London, Durham, and Winchester.

however, refused to accept the additional diocese, whereupon Dr. Short was translated to St. Asaph from Sodor and Man, and Dr. Prince Lee was appointed first Bishop of Manchester in 1848.

By the Pluralities Act of 1838 a more suitable provision was made against pluralities, and for the settlement of a resident Clergyman in each parish *. In order to obtain the money required for these changes, the Cathedral Act was passed, under strong opposition, in 1840. Under the provisions of that Act some 360 Prebendal estates attached to the cathedrals of the *Old Foundation;* and the corporate incomes of all the Canons beyond four in (with a few exceptions) all the other cathedrals; and the revenues of the separate estates of Deans and Residentiary Canons as distinguished from their corporate revenues; and the proceeds of sinecure Rectories, were appropriated and entrusted to the management of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Out of the income arising from these sources the Commissioners now pay to the Bishops, the Deans, the Canons Residentiary, and the Archdeacons, certain fixed stipends; the surplus after such payments are made being administered at their discretion for the benefit of the whole Church. It

* By the "Pluralities Act Amendment Act" of 1885 Bishops are given a discretionary power to appoint one or more curates during the vacancy of a benefice, and it permits two benefices to be held by a Clergyman, providing that neither of them exceeds £200 a year, and that they are not more than five miles apart.

was, however, some years before the direct advantage of this Act was felt, for in 1843 Sir Robert Peel forestalled the increment of the revenue by inducing Parliament to impose upon the fund a charge of £30,000 a year, for the creation, with a stipend of £150 a year each, of two hundred new districts in the mineral, shipping, and manufacturing towns; and of £18,000 a year to repay to Queen Anne's Bounty the interest of the sum borrowed to effect such anticipation of its future income. The total value of grants made by the Commissioners between 1840 and October 1, 1884, amounted to £718,000 a year, representing £21,540,000 in capital value; this sum was met by benefactions to the amount of £4,410,000, equivalent to a permanent income in the endowment of benefices of about £147,000 a year; £26,000 per annum has been contributed by benefactors to meet the grants of the commissioners for curates in the mining districts; and the total number of benefices thus improved amounts to upwards of 5,000.

Another important Act of Parliament, the "Tithe Commutation Act," was passed in 1836. Previously to that Act the Rector of a parish was entitled to the farmer's tenth wheat-sheaf, his tenth pig, and his tenth sack of potatoes, &c. The new Act (which, however, did not include tithes on hops, orchards, and gardens[1]), did much towards producing a better feel-

[1] This, however, was regulated by the "Tithe Rent-Charge Amendment Act," 1886.

ing between the Clergy and the farmers, by providing, instead of tithes being paid in kind, for a general commutation into a rent-charge upon the land, valued according to the price of corn during the seven preceding years: an arrangement by which the Clergy, if they lost in money, gained in peace. Hitherto the payment of tithes had been considered a religious duty, the tithe being recoverable in the Ecclesiastical Courts acting *pro salute animæ*, not so much for enabling the defrauded Parson to recover his rights, as for the soul's health, and the reformation, of the offending party. But by the Tithe Commutation Act tithe was put on the same level as other property.

A most important point was gained by the revival, after a suppression of more than 130 years, of the functions of Convocation, for which the Church is mainly indebted to a layman, the late Mr. Henry Hoare, and the late Bishop Wilberforce. In 1741 there had been some hope of Convocation being allowed by the Crown to resume its deliberative functions, but the Lower House having refused to receive a communication from the Upper, this hope vanished, and from that time till far into the present century Convocation was not permitted to hold more than formal consultations.

In 1840, Dr. Wilberforce, at that time Archdeacon of Surrey, urged that it was desirable that the meetings of Convocation should consist of something

more than the mere listening to a Latin speech and choosing a Prolocutor. From that time a desire for its revival increased, but no important movement was made till 1847. On November 24 in that year, the appointment as Prolocutor of Dr. Lyall, Dean of Canterbury, having been approved by the Archbishop, a member of the Lower House of Canterbury proposed that "an address should be presented to the Upper House, asking their Lordships to unite with the Lower in a humble petition to the Queen, praying for her Royal Licence, that Convocation might be permitted to consult upon the best means of increasing the efficiency of the Church." The motion, however, was lost, and the matter at that time came to nothing; but an advantage was gained, inasmuch as public attention was directed to the existence of Convocation and to the question of its revival.

The judgment in the Gorham case plainly showed to unbiassed minds the necessity of there being some representative assembly more fitted to legislate for the Church than the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In February, 1851, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury met for the purpose of receiving petitions from the Clergy and Laity of the Province, and addresses were presented by the Lower to the Upper House; but the Archbishop (Sumner) prorogued the Assembly. In July, however, a lay Peer, Lord Redesdale, formally moved

in the House of Lords for a copy of the petitions, and took the opportunity (as did also Bishop Blomfield and Bishop Wilberforce) of urging the revival of Convocation. The motion was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground that if Convocation met and debated, discussions and controversy would certainly arise. Lord Lansdowne described the motion as "novel, far-fetched, and dangerous;" it was, however, carried.

When in the February Session of Convocation, Bishop Wilberforce announced his intention of moving that "this House do consider the prayer of the petitions," Sir J. Dodson, the Queen's Advocate, declared that such a motion was without precedent; that for the past 135 years the Crown had summoned Convocation as a matter of form only, without permitting it to act. From this view Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, differed; *business*, he said, was making Canons, not petitioning the Crown[g]. Bishop Wilberforce stated that the motion he intended to make was one of a particular, not of a general, nature; it was an address to the Queen for a licence to Convocation to discuss a Clergy Discipline Bill. The Archbishop then declared that it was most improper that Convocation should in any way place itself

[g] The opinion of Counsel (the Attorney-General, Sir F. Thesiger, Sir W. Page Wood, and Dr. Phillimore) was taken, and they decided with the Bishop of Exeter, that Convocation could transact business, but could not make nor alter Canons.

in hostility to the government, and prorogued it till August 19[h].

On February 20, 1852, Lord John Russell's government, which had been in power five and a half years, fell, and Lord Derby came into office; on July 1, Parliament, and with it Convocation also, was dissolved; on October 18 an announcement appeared in the *Times* that Lord Derby had advised the Crown to issue its licence for Convocation to resume its synodical functions. Dr. Peacock, Dean of Ely, was chosen Prolocutor of the new Convocation, which met on November 5; on November 12, for the first time for 135 years, Convocation met for the despatch of business, seventeen Prelates, and between eighty and ninety Proctors, attending. On November 16 a motion was made for a committee to consider an address to her Majesty, on the subject of Clergy Discipline, and to report to Convocation. The motion was carried and a committee appointed. The next day, after some formal business had been transacted, Convocation was adjourned to February 16, 1853.

But before that day arrived (on December 16), Lord Derby's short-lived ministry fell, and a new ministry having been formed under Lord Aberdeen, who was favourable to Convocation, Dr. Wilberforce, then Bishop of Oxford, joined by the Bishops of Exeter, Salisbury, and Chichester, protested against

[h] Life of Bishop Wilberforce, ii. 138.

the Archbishop proroguing *sine consensu fratrum*, and so prevailed with the new Premier, that in January, 1854, one day for deliberation was allowed to Convocation. Since that time Convocation has progressed step by step; in 1856 it deliberated on a rearrangement of the Church Services; in 1857 and 1858 it advanced so far, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had from the first been not over friendly to Convocation, declared it would be out of the question any longer to stop its debates.

In 1860 an important advance was made by the obtaining of a Royal Letter authorizing the transaction of business; and in 1861 Convocation framed a new Canon on the subject of Sponsors in Holy Baptism. In 1864 the formal condemnation of *Essays and Reviews* cleared the Church, in a manner which no private declaration could have done, from complicity with the heretical teaching of some of the Essays. On June 21 in that year the motion was carried, with slight opposition, in the Upper House[1]: "That this Synod having appointed Committees of the Upper and Lower House to examine and report upon the volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*, and the said Committees having severally reported thereon, doth hereby synodically condemn the said volume as containing teaching contrary to the doctrine received by the United Church of Eng-

[1] The Bishops of London (Tait), Lincoln (Jackson), and Bangor voting against it.

land and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ." The Lower House, by 39 to 19 votes, signified its concurrence in the resolution; and declared that "this House also thankfully accept and concur in the condemnation of the book by the Upper House, to which its concurrence has been invited."

In 1872 an important advance was made by the issue of the Royal Licence and Letters of Business, authorizing Convocation to consider the Rubrics, with a view to legislation. Convocation drew up the Bill subsequently passed by Parliament as the "Act of Uniformity Amendment Act;" a new Lectionary and a shortened form of Week-day Service received the sanction of Convocation; and now Convocation holds a position in the State which no prudent statesman could afford to overlook.

From the revival of Convocation another important feature in the synodical action of the Church has resulted, viz. the establishment of Church Congresses and the revival of Diocesan Conferences and Synods. The first Church Congress was held in the Hall of King's College, Cambridge, in 1861. It was an effort originated by men who felt that the time had come for drawing more closely together the Clergy and faithful laity of the Church of England, and of Churches in communion with her, to consult as to the best measures of Church Defence and Extension, and the general interests of the Church.

The first Congress was a local rather than a national assembly, convened by the Cambridge Church Defence Association, and attracted so little notice, that no London newspaper thought it necessary to send a representative to report its proceedings. The next Congress was held in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, and thus the two great seats of learning and centres of Church-life, became the birth-places of that movement which has since been continued annually for a period which now reaches a quarter of a century.

The difference between a Diocesan Synod and a Conference is that whilst the former consists solely of Clergymen, the latter is composed of representatives of both Clergy and Laity. The former is derived from the earliest ages of the Church, and comes down to us consecrated by the prescription of eighteen centuries, and by the historical associations of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of England in particular; the latter springs from the free life of popular institutions and representative government [k]. The subjects proposed for the consideration of Synods and Conferences are also different. The questions brought before the Synod are those which relate to the doctrine, the discipline, and the sacred office and worship of the Church. Those

[k] Inaugural Address of the Bishop of Lincoln to his Diocesan Synod, 1871.

brought before the Conference are of a more mixed character, such as concern the relations between the Church and the State; the endowments of the Church; the maintenance of the Clergy, of the fabrics and services of the Church and Church schools; the support of home and foreign missions; but the Laity are not associated with the Clergy on controverted questions of Theology, nor on the Articles of Faith. The revival of Diocesan Synods is due to the late Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Phillpotts), after the Gorham judgment of 1851; but as this assembly was composed of *representatives* of the Clergy of the Rural Deaneries and not of the whole Clergy, it cannot strictly be called a pure Synod. To Dr. Wordsworth, the late Bishop of Lincoln, is to be attributed the credit of being the first in modern times to put Diocesan Synods on a proper footing, when, at his invitation, on September 20, 1871, an assembly of between four and five hundred Clergymen of his Diocese met at Lincoln, as a strictly religious assembly for religious purposes. A general revival of Diocesan Synods is one of the most urgent needs of the Church, and it is to be hoped the time is not far distant when they will be held in all dioceses at least triennially.

The importance of Diocesan Conferences cannot be overrated. The Council consists of elected representatives of the Clergy, and elected representatives of the lay-Churchmen of the diocese, with some *ex officio* members of both bodies, and meets an-

nually, under the presidency of the Bishop of the Diocese, to deliberate on such matters as with his sanction are laid before them. The Conference is now established throughout the length and breadth of the land, only one diocese (that of Worcester) being without its annual Conference; an exception which no doubt before long will disappear.

In 1881 a Central Council, consisting of three clerical and three lay representatives from every diocese which chose to appoint them, was formed with the view of summarizing the proceedings of past Conferences, and suggesting subjects for the simultaneous consideration of future Diocesan Conferences, so as to promote greater unity of action, and in other ways to promote the interests of the Church.

At a time when, in a general knowledge and interest in Church matters, the Laity are well abreast of the Clergy, their value in questions affecting the welfare of the Church becomes more and more recognized. This consideration led, in 1886, to the calling into existence of the "House of Laymen" by the Convocation of Canterbury, agreeably with a motion made in the Lower House of Convocation in 1885. The new House met for the first time on February 16, in the Board-room of the National Society, when Lord Selborne was elected as chairman.

The House of Laymen stands in the same relation to Convocation as the lay representatives in the Conference stand to the diocese, the difference being

that whereas the Conference consists of Clergy and Laity meeting in one assembly, the House of Laymen sit in a separate House by themselves. The latter is a body purely representative of the laity; its members are chosen by the lay members of the various Diocesan Conferences in the Province of Canterbury, the members of the Conferences being themselves elected by the laity of the parishes. It is convened by the Archbishop to sit during the Session of Convocation, with the view of conferring with the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation as well on subjects submitted to them as on subjects originating with itself. If such an assembly proves useful in the Southern Province, no doubt a similar assembly will be adopted by the Northern Province also.

The extension of the Colonial Episcopate, a work which is almost exclusively carried on by Churchmen and Church societies, particularly the S. P. G. and S.P.C.K. (although the Sees of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay are paid out of public funds, and the Bishop of Barbadoes by the Island Legislature), is one of the most satisfactory results of the Church revival. For the first quarter of this century there were, as has been before stated, only five Colonial Bishoprics, those of Nova Scotia, founded 1787, Quebec, 1793, Calcutta, 1814, Jamaica and Barbadoes, both in 1824, jurisdiction over the Anglican Clergy in other parts of the world being exercised by the Bishop of London. In 1832 the See of Bombay, separated from

Calcutta, was founded; next came, in 1835, the See of Madras; in 1836 that of Australia was founded[1]; there was also a Diocese of Toronto, founded in 1839, and Newfoundland. So that in 1840 the number of colonial Sees had increased to ten. In April, 1840, Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, wrote a letter on the subject of the Colonial Episcopate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which led to the establishment of the Colonial Bishoprics' Council[2]; and a meeting to consider means for increasing the Colonial Episcopate was held in Willis's Rooms. The cause of the Episcopate had already taken deep root; the Christian Knowledge Society voted £10,000; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel £5,000, to which soon afterwards it added £2,500; and the Church Missionary Society £600 for the Bishopric of New Zealand; so on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1842, no fewer than five Colonial Bishoprics (amongst them a Bishop for Gibraltar) were consecrated: in little more than twenty years, twenty more Colonial Sees were founded: at the present time the Church of England numbers eighty Bishoprics, in North and South

[1] In 1846 the Bishop of Australia was created Bishop of Sydney. The original Diocese has since been divided into the Bishoprics of New Zealand, founded in 1841, Tasmania, 1842, Sydney, Newcastle, Adelaide, and Melbourne, 1847, Goulburn, 1863, and Bathurst, 1869.

[2] From 1841 to 1883 the Council has been the means of raising the sum of £664,842 towards the endowment, partially or wholly, of forty-three Sees.

America, the West Indies, Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific.

There are two names in particular amongst our missionary Bishops which we must not omit to mention. In 1855 Bishop Patteson left the shores of England never to return. For sixteen years he laboured incessantly in his foreign diocese, and in 1871 received the crown of Martyrdom in the Island of Nukupu, one of the Santa Cruz group, in Melanesia. By his will he left all his private fortune, amounting to £12,000, his books and other goods, to the Melanesian Mission.

The other name is that of Bishop Hannington, of the Equatorial African Mission, who only last year (1885), whilst on a visitation tour of 1,000 miles to Uganda, on the northern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, fell into the hands of the King of the country, who, actuated by fear of European aggression, ordered (as there is now little ground for doubting) his execution.

The care of the English congregations in the Mediterranean was transferred from the Bishop of London to the Bishop of Gibraltar; in 1869 a Foreign Office Circular was issued that "the spiritual superintendence hitherto exercised by the Bishop of London over the ministers and congregations of English Churches throughout Spain and Portugal, on the coast of Morocco, and in the Canary Islands, as well as over the like congregations of the Kingdom of

Italy, on the shores of the Black Sea and in the Lower Danube, shall henceforth devolve on the Bishop of Gibraltar[n].

The Episcopal work amongst the Chaplaincies of North and Central Europe, comprising communities within ten different nations—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Russia—which had been exercised very irregularly by such Bishops as the Bishop of London from time to time could procure, were in 1884 better provided for by the appointment of a Coadjutor Bishop (Bishop Titcombe), who was commissioned to exercise regular and systematic supervision over those Chaplaincies. On the resignation of Bishop Titcombe, Dr. Wilkinson, late Bishop of Zululand, was, in 1886, appointed by the Bishop of London to succeed him. The new Bishopric, however, having no sort of endowment, cannot be considered at present to be placed on a solid or permanent foundation[o].

The year 1867 witnessed at Lambeth one of the most interesting movements that has taken place in Christendom since the Reformation, and the nearest ap-

[n] The charge of maintaining the Chaplaincies is mainly undertaken by two Societies, that for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Colonial and Continental Church Society. The latter Society was founded in 1835 under the name of the "Colonial Church Society," which was in 1861 changed for its present title.

[o] Official Year Book for 1886, p. 264.

proach that has ever been made to a General Council of the Pan-Anglican Churches. The Church has never fully realized the debt it owes to the late excellent Archbishop Longley for calling together to this Conference, under the presidency of the See of St. Augustine, all the Bishops of the Anglican Communion [p],—Irish, Scotch, Colonial, and American Churches—76 of whom attended; for the gentle firmness and unfailing courtesy with which he presided over it, and the firm and convincing language he used as to the Catholicity of the English Church, and the corporate reunion of Christendom. The Session commenced on September 25, 1867, at Lambeth Palace, after Morning Prayer, with Celebration and a sermon in the private chapel by the Bishop of Illinois, and was brought to a close on the following Friday, the closing service being held, not in Westminster Abbey (the use of the Abbey being refused by the Dean, which brought upon him a crushing letter from the Bishop of Vermont), but in the parish church of Lambeth, on which occasion the Archbishop of Canterbury was Celebrant of the Holy Communion, the Bishop of London Epistoler, the Bishop of Montreal Gospeller, whilst the Bishops of Vermont, Cape Town, and New Zealand assisted.

The Encyclical published by the Conference

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[p] With the exception of Dr. Colenso, whose heresy was on of the chief causes of the Conference.

implicitly condemned two of Dr. Colenso's most prominent errors, the denial of the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and the Very Godhead of the One Person of our Incarnate Lord. As this was the first Conference ever held of the Bishops of the Reformed Church in visible communion with the Church of England, it may be useful to quote a few sentences of wisdom which proceeded from it, words expressive of the Catholic position of the Church, and worthy of being followed in these days of contention: "We propose," said the venerable president, Archbishop Longley, "to discuss matters of practical interest, and pronounce what we deem expedient in resolutions, *which may serve as safe guides to future action.*" "We do here solemnly record our conviction that unity will be most effectually promoted by maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, *held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils*[1]." A Pastoral was addressed "To the faithful in Jesus Christ, the Priests and Deacons, and the Lay Members of the Church of Christ in Communion with the Anglican branch of the Church Catholic," exhorting them to "keep whole and undefiled the Faith once delivered to the Saints;" to guard against the "pretension to universal sovereignty over God's heritage

[1] Introduction to the Resolutions.

asserted by the See of Rome;" "to build yourselves up in your most holy Faith;" to "hold fast the Creeds, and the pure worship and order which by God's grace ye have inherited from the Primitive Church." Here then is an authority, viz. that of the Bishops of the Pan-Anglican Church throughout the world[r], to which, agreeably to the words of Christ, "Tell it unto the Church," we can, instead of going to law one with another, always refer; the Primitive Church, the Creeds, the General Councils, such are laid down as the "safe guides to future action;" here is the standard by which people who complain of others should judge themselves; here is the test of obedience to Bishops, viz. whether we are willing to respect and follow the advice of the United Episcopate.

A second Pan-Anglican Conference assembled at Lambeth, under the presidency of Archbishop Tait, on July 1, 1878, at which exactly one hundred Bishops attended, and all the English Diocesans except Durham and Worcester. It again affirmed the principle laid down in the earlier Conference: viz. that "the

[r] It is a matter of regret that several English Prelates absented themselves. The Bishops of Exeter, Chichester, Hereford, and Bath and Wells were no doubt hindered by physical causes from attending, but what the (then) Bishop of Peterborough, and the Prelates of the Northern Province, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Manchester, and Carlisle could see objectionable in the Conference, it is difficult to imagine.

Churches of the Anglican Communion held fast those principles which are set forth in the Holy Scriptures, which were proposed by the Primitive Church, and which were reaffirmed at the English Reformation." These two Conferences have led to the most important result of showing to the other branches of the Catholic Church that the Anglican Church appeals for its doctrines, not to the Reformation, but to the Primitive Church, and that a real band of union exists between the Anglican and the associated Churches, presenting such a noble example of true Christian unity as carries us back to the past ages of the Church's history.

We may note in passing one Act of Parliament, the New Vicarage Act[s], which was passed in 1868. Until that year the Incumbents of parishes were styled Rectors, Vicars, and Perpetual Curates. But by the new Act, "The Incumbents of all Churches, Parishes, or new Parishes, not being Rectors, who are authorized to perform all Church offices, and to receive for their own benefit the entire fees for the performance of such offices, now become *ipso facto* Vicars of such Church, Parish, or new Parish, and their benefices Vicarages."

In its course of progress it was scarcely possible but that the Church should encounter some difficulties and dangers. In 1861 the threadbare subject

[s] 31 and 32 Victoria.

of Rationalism—the same which had been so prevalent in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, in France at the end of the eighteenth, and in Germany at the end of the last and the commencement of the present century—was revived in England by the publication of a work entitled "Essays and Reviews." The book consisted of seven Essays—the *crambe repetita* of the Deists of our own country and the philosophers of France—all, except one, written by influential Clergymen [1], who talked of "honest doubt" and of the "free-handling in a becoming spirit" of the most sacred truths of the Bible. It was the same story as of old, only gaining importance from the position of the writers:—a repugnance to Creeds and Formularies; a desire of comprehension by the abandonment of everything that is Catholic; the acceptance of one part and the rejection of other parts of the Bible; a disparagement of everything supernatural, and the establishment of the supremacy of reason. A protest against the book was signed by between eight and nine thousand of the Clergy; it was formally condemned by the Convocations of Canterbury and York; and two of the writers, Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, were sentenced

[1] The authors were Dr. Temple, now Bishop of London, Dr. Williams, Vice-Principal of Lampeter College, Mr. Jowett, now Master of Balliol and Professor of Greek in Oxford University, Mr. Mark Pattison, late Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Messrs. Wilson, Goodwin, and Baden Powell.

by the Court of Arches to a year's suspension, a judgment which was, however, reversed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

A still more pronounced expression of Rationalistic opinions was published by Dr. Colenso, a great arithmetician[u], Bishop of Natal, a diocese under the Metropolitan of Cape Town, in a work entitled "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined." But before commenting on the troubles arising from Dr. Colenso, we must give an account of some previous law proceedings which took place between the Bishop of Cape Town and the Reverend W. Long, Incumbent of St. Peter's, Mowbray, in that diocese. In 1856 the Bishop of Cape Town passed in a Synod certain laws and regulations for his diocese. Mr. Long, who had taken the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop, considered the Synod to be illegal, and protested against its proceedings; and when a second Synod was held in 1861 he refused to appear before it, or to give notice of it in his church. He was consequently cited to appear before the Bishop and five assessors, and being found guilty of disobedience, was sentenced to three months' suspension; he nevertheless continued his ministrations, and was thereupon sentenced to

[u] In the words of Lord Beaconsfield, when Mr. D'Israeli, he "seemed to have commenced the study of Theology, after he had grasped the crozier."—Speech at Oxford, November, 1864.

deprivation of his functions and emoluments; a sentence which was confirmed by the supreme court of the Colony.

From that decision Mr. Long appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, the judgment of which Court was delivered in July, 1863. The Court decided against the Bishop; it held that under new Letters Patent of 1853 the Bishop had surrendered any territorial rights which he enjoyed under the previous Patent of 1847, and that consequently he had no jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil. By taking the oath of canonical obedience, and by receiving the episcopal licence, Mr. Long had (the judgment stated) voluntarily submitted to the Bishop, and was liable to be suspended or deprived for *lawful* reasons. How was he justified in declining to attend the Synod? His oath bound him only to obey the Bishop's commands when they were according to law: and the Court held that there could be little doubt that the acts and constitutions of the Synod were illegal. They would advise her Majesty that Mr. Long had not been lawfully removed, but still remained minister of Mowbray. The Bishop of Cape Town, in consequence of the judgment (although under protest against the right assumed by the Privy Council to interfere with the jurisdiction at the Cape) cancelled the sentence of deprivation which he had passed upon Mr. Long.

We must now return to the case between the

Bishop of Natal and the Bishop of Cape Town. In 1852 the Bishop of Cape Town was the only Anglican Bishop in South Africa, his diocese extending nearly 3,000 miles in length. It was therefore arranged that the diocese should be broken up into three separate dioceses, those of Cape Town, Graham's Town, and Natal, with a view to which Dr. Gray, the Bishop of Cape Town, resigned his See; and Letters Patent, under which he was reappointed Bishop of Cape Town and also Metropolitan, passed the Great Seal of England on December 8, 1853.

These new letters (amongst other matters) recited the former patent of September, 1847, which had created the original diocese of Cape Town; appointed Dr. Gray as its Bishop; and declared that "the Bishops of the Sees of Graham's Town and Natal and their successors, were to be subject and subordinate to the See of Cape Town, and to the Bishop thereof and his successors, in the same manner as any Bishop of any See within the Province of Canterbury was under the authority of the Episcopal See of that Province and the Archbishop of the same." The Crown also declared by these letters, "We do further will and order that in case any proceeding shall be instituted against any of the said Bishops of Graham's Town and Natal . . . such process shall originate and be carried on before the Bishop of Cape Town, whom we hereby authorize to direct and take cognizance of the same." Under these

Letters Patent the late Bishop Armstrong and Dr. Colenso (the latter of whom was at the time a moderate High Churchman and a local Secretary of the S.P.G. in the Diocese of Norwich) were on November 30, 1853, consecrated respectively Bishops of Graham's Town and Natal, and took the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop of Cape Town, as Metropolitan[*]. In June, 1859, a Bishop was consecrated for St. Helena; in 1860 the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie as Bishop of Central Africa raised the number of Suffragan Bishops in the Province of Cape Town to four; Bishop Mackenzie, on his death, was succeeded by Bishop Tozer, and in the same year the first Bishop of the Orange Free State was consecrated.

If the Bishop of Natal had been acquainted with the works of the Deistical writers of the eighteenth century, and the solutions of their difficulties made by leading divines of the Church, it is scarcely imaginable that he could have published his crude sentiments as if they were his own, and had not been already refuted over and over again. "Is the Bible," he asks, "to be read like any other common book?" and he answers his question just as a Deist

[*] The words of the oath taken by Dr. Colenso were: "I John William Colenso, Doctor of Divinity, appointed Bishop of the See and Diocese of Natal, do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town and to his successors, and to the Metropolitan Church of St. George, Cape Town."

in the eighteenth century would have answered it: "It is to be read like any other book, with the understanding as well as with the heart. We must not blindly shut our eyes to the real history of the composition of this Book, *to the legendary character of its earlier portions, to the manifest contradictions and impossibilities which rise up at once in every part of the story of the Exodus.* . . The Bible is not itself God's Word, but assuredly God's Word will be heard in the Bible, by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it." Honest men thought Dr. Colenso would of course resign his Bishopric. Instead of doing this he asks, "Does any intelligent Clergyman at this day. . . really believe in that story" of the universal Deluge, "after the light which mathematical and physical science have brought to bear upon it?" And he assumes at once that they cannot do so. How then, he asks, can they use the Prayer in the Baptismal Service which assumes the truth of the Noachian Deluge, "Almighty and everlasting God, Who of Thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing, by water?" If then (is his conclusion) he (Dr. Colenso) ought to resign, the other Bishops ought to resign also; "Are all these, Prelates as well as ordinary Clergy, to resign at once their sacred offices because they disbelieve the Church's doctrine[x]?"

[x] One can scarcely help being reminded of a saying of Mr. Canning: "Did you ever know a Senior Wrangler who wasn't a fool?"

But enough has been said to give an idea of Bishop Colenso and his doctrine. A great outcry was raised against the book. Dr. Gray, the Bishop of Cape Town, summoned his suffragan Bishops to meet him; but, on account of the distance and difficulty of communication, only two, the Bishops of Graham's Town and of the Orange Free State, were able to answer the summons of their Metropolitan. Dr. Colenso felt confident that the Law could not touch him, and defied punishment. But with these two Bishops, Dr. Gray tried, and on December 16, 1863, passed sentence of deprivation upon him; and afterwards, when every other course had failed, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced, and formally published in the Cathedral Church of Pieter-Maritzburg. The State had declared Bishop Gray to be a Metropolitan. According to the Canons of the Church, one of the rights of a Metropolitan is, with the aid of his comprovincials[7], to hear charges against any of his Bishops, to suspend and, if necessary, to deprive him. The sentence upon Bishop Colenso was afterwards approved by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, by the General Convention of the United States, by the Episcopal Synod of Scotland, by the Provincial Council of

[7] And on the authority of the great Canonist, Van Espin, "probably under peculiar circumstances without that aid."—Charge of the Bishop of Cape Town to the Clergy of Natal.

Canada, and by a large majority of the Bishops assembled at the first Lambeth Conference. The Bishop of Cape Town offered Dr. Colenso an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Instead of availing himself of this offer, Dr. Colenso, who had sworn canonical obedience to his Metropolitan, appealed to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council against the sentence, and by that Court the sentence was, on March 22, 1865, reversed, and the trial at the Cape was pronounced to be null and void. The judgment entirely swept away the Royal Supremacy, unless supported by a special Act of Parliament, so far as those Colonies which have a separate legislature are concerned. It ruled that the Crown had no power whatever to issue the Letters Patent which it had issued, constituting Dr. Gray a Metropolitan; that although Dr. Colenso had taken the oath of canonical obedience, it was not competent for Dr. Gray or Dr. Colenso to give or to accept such jurisdiction. And the proposal to give appellate jurisdiction to the Archbishop of Canterbury was equally invalid. On the strength of this judgment Dr. Colenso continued his ministrations in the Cathedral church of Maritzburg. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, however, in May, 1866, recognized the sentence passed on him by the Bishop of Cape Town, and decided that its Missionaries in Natal were no longer subject to him; it resolved "that the Bishop of Cape Town be requested, under existing

circumstances, to give such episcopal superintendence, and supply at present such episcopal ministrations, as he may be able to afford or to obtain from the other South African Bishops." But by a subsequent judgment given in his favour by Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, in 1866, Dr. Colenso was enabled to compel the Trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund to pay him the arrears, and to continue to him his salary, and they were condemned to pay the costs of his suit against them. Other funds, however, were provided for the maintenance of a new Bishop, and Mr. Macrorie was chosen as Bishop of Pieter-Maritzburg by the Bishops of Cape Town and Graham's Town, with the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Such matters were of course trials, but they did not hinder the progress of the Church. In 1876 two new Bishoprics, those of St. Albans and Truro, were founded, and thus far the Church had, since the reign of Henry VIII., added four to the roll of home-Bishoprics. In 1878 the "Additional Bishoprics' Act" was passed, whereby the See of Liverpool came into existence in 1880, that of Newcastle in 1882[1], and of Southwell in 1884, the endowments of which Sees (required by Parliament to be on a liberal scale though not equal to those of the older Bishoprics)

[1] A commodious residence for the new Bishopric of Newcastle, with suitable grounds, was given by Sir Joseph Pease, a Quaker.

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private gifts and voluntary
subscription is now going on
an eighth new See at Wakefield.
Parliament was passed to have
Bishopric of Bristol (which for fifty years
to Gloucester) restored as soon as
endowment should be raised by voluntary
and a subscription for that purpose is

The progress of the Church in the matter of elementary education has, although under the greatest obstacles, been most encouraging. The two great Societies, from an early period in this century, for promoting elementary education, were the National and the British and Foreign Schools Societies, the former dating from 1811, the latter a few years earlier; and until the year 1833, the year after the passing of the Reform Bill, these two Societies had carried on the work unassisted by Parliamentary aid. In that year, however, the grant of £20,000 out of the public funds was made (exclusively for building purposes) to schools in union with the two Societies, to be applied to them in equal proportion, so that Churchmen and Dissenters might be on an absolute equality. This was continued annually for six years, although in 1838 it was found that whilst 690 schools were either built or were in the course of construction by the National Society, only 160 were due to the British and Foreign School Society.

In 1839 the government grant was increased to £30,000, and an Order in Council directed the formation of a Committee to administer the grant. Its first minutes directed the transference to itself of the powers hitherto held by the two Educational Societies, with which no aided school need for the future be in union; a system of inspection was announced, and no school which refused that inspection was entitled to receive assistance. Another minute directed that "the Committee of Council should itself found a school in which candidates for the office of teacher in schools for the poorer classes might acquire the knowledge necessary to the exercise of their future profession, and might be practised in the most approved methods of religious and moral training and instruction." In connexion with this training-school there was to be a model school, in which children between three and fourteen years of age were to be educated. The religious instruction was to be of two kinds, general and special; the general religious instruction was to be on such points as were common to all classes and sects of Christians, whilst special religious teaching was to be afforded to those who wished to receive it.

But as the government grants to the Church were supplemented by voluntary subscriptions of Churchmen, amounting to at least five times the sum granted by government, the Church was only slightly

indebted to the State; the plan of Government Inspection was generally looked on as an insidious design for getting control over Church schools, and the grant was in consequence in many cases refused; out of 204 Church schools to which building grants were offered, 169 refused the aid rather than consent to the Inspection. In 1840, however, an agreement was arrived at that the Church School Inspectors should be appointed only with the approval of the Archbishop of the Province; and on this condition (although the Clergy were suspicious as to the future intentions of the government) the authorities in Church and State were enabled to work together in furthering elementary education.

The system of assistance granted by the State was continued and increased until the year 1858, in which year the building-grants alone of the Education Department had reached the large sum of £140,000; and as the government grants never exceeded £1 a head for the children who had to be provided for, and the lowest scale on which voluntary contributions supplemented the government grant was at least five times as much, it follows that the State grants of £140,000 for building schools involved an expenditure of at least three quarters of a million of money. In 1859, however, Mr. Lowe came into office as President of the Educational Department, and the policy which he followed was

not to distribute the subsidy voted by Parliament for the promotion and building of schools, but to do all he possibly could to discourage denominational schools. In consequence of this principle being carried out between 1859 and 1865 the grants made by government for building schools fell step by step from £140,000 to £19,000.

We now pass to the year 1876, until which time the principle had been recognized that education was a religious work, and that religion formed an indispensable element in it. But a school of Educationists, the birthplace, or at any rate the stronghold of which was Birmingham, had sprung up, which maintained that the Church had failed in her mission, that the voluntary system had broken down, and that education must be "universal," "rate-supported," and "compulsory;" and in 1869 the "National Education League," under the presidency of Mr. Dixon, Member for the borough, sprang into life, with the object, "to secure the education of every child in England and Wales." The fourth and fifth clauses of the scheme promulgated by the League stipulated that all schools aided by local rates should be *unsectarian* and *free*. In 1870 the Elementary Education Act was passed, which involved the entire separation of the State from all concern in the religious instruction given in elementary schools. A Conscience Clause was insisted on in all schools receiving government aid. All denominational schools were opened to children

whatever their Creed; infidels and atheists equally with Church people could have their children educated with the certainty that no religious instruction would be imparted to them. Education was rendered compulsory; the country was divided into districts under the management of elected School-Boards, provision being made for the building and maintenance of schools out of the local rates. The Church was thus placed in a great difficulty in carrying on its schools for the future. It not only lost all recognition of its schools by the State, but excessive sums out of the rates have been expended on the Board-schools; the supporters of the Church schools, besides the expense of supporting their own schools are taxed for the support of other schools of which they do not approve: and so, in many cases, managers have felt compelled to hand over their schools to Boards, because they were too poor to pay both for their own and the Board-schools.

The Church schools have also had to contend against other disadvantages, owing to the fact that the School Boards, being able to charge an arbitrary expenditure on the local rates, tempt teachers from other schools by profuse salaries, and often entice children to their schools by reducing or altogether remitting their fees[a].

[a] Mr. Chamberlain now proposes a system of *Free Education*, to defray the expenses of which the endowments of the Church, after it is disendowed, should be devoted.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the Church's work in primary education has advanced with immense strides. Since the passing of the Education Act the accommodation supplied in Church schools has increased from 1,365,080 on August 31, 1870, to 2,454,788 on August 31, 1884, i.e. 1,089,708 additional school places have been provided by the Church, whilst in the same year (1884) the School Boards provided accommodation for only 1,490,174. If we extend our statistics to the expenditure on schools and training-colleges, we find that the Church has contributed since the passing of the Education Act, (1) to the building of Schools, £5,715,372; (2) to their maintenance, £7,805,252; (3) to the building of Training Colleges, £80,710; (4) to their maintenance, £204,871; whilst the total expenditure of the Church in the cause of elementary education since the foundation of the National Society in 1811 has been £28,956,143; in fact, the amount will largely exceed this sum, if we take into account the value and other gifts in kind given by rich and poor alike.

The work of testing by inspection the religious instruction given in Church schools, which down to the year 1870 was discharged by the State, is now carried on by the Church itself, and this work involves an additional expenditure of not less than £15,000 a year on the part of the various dioceses,

whose funds are largely supplemented by the National Society [b].

Whilst a great advance had been made in our public schools, and much had been done for the education of the lower classes, little regard had been paid to the education of that middle, and especially the lower middle, class, which is generally supposed to be the mainstay of Nonconformity. That class was generally left to the tender mercies of some broken-down tradesman, or cashiered clerk, who "having been a failure himself, was now doing his utmost to train up a host of little failures [c]." The education of this class of the people in these days, in which we have witnessed such a large extension of the franchise, is of the first importance; and the scheme formed in 1848 by the Rev. N. Woodard for supplying them with the advantages of a public-school education, based upon Church principles, has met with the happiest results [d]. At the head of these institutions of Canon Woodard stands Lancing College (founded in 1848), which, however, by the original intention of its founder, holds a higher position than the rest, a position similar to that of

[b] Official Year Book, 1886.

[c] Speech of Lord Brougham at the opening of Ardingley College.

[d] Mr. Woodard was rewarded with a Canonry of Manchester in 1870.

Radley or Bradfield, and ranks, although at a much lower cost, amongst our great public schools. Other colleges are:—St. John's, Hurstpierpoint (founded 1851); St. Saviour's College, Ardingley (1858); King's College School, Taunton (1880); St. Chad's, Denstone (1873); Ellesmere College (1879); St. Augustine's, Dewsbury (1884); whilst in union with the scheme are St. Michael's College, Bognor (1847), and St. Anne's, Abbots-Bromley (1874), for daughters of gentlemen and professional men.

In connexion with this subject must be mentioned the Theological Colleges which exist in many dioceses, and which, in these days when the Universities are being secularized, are of the greatest importance to the Church. These are:—St. Bee's, Cumberland (founded by Bishop Law in 1816); St. David's College, Lampeter (founded by Bishop Burgess in 1822); Chichester (founded in 1839); Wells (1840); St. Aidan's, Birkenhead (1846); Cumbrae (1849); Cuddesdon (1853); Lichfield (1857); Salisbury (1860); St. John's, Highbury (1863); Gloucester (1868); Scholæ Cancellarii, Lincoln (1874); Ely (1876); Leeds (1876); Truro (1877); Wycliffe Hall, Oxford (1878); and Ridley Hall, Cambridge (1881)[e].

[e] At most of these Colleges students, if Graduates, are required to reside one year, non-Graduates two years. Highbury College of Divinity was founded and endowed by the Rev. A. Peache and Miss Peache, at a cost to them of £50,000, for such as have not received a University education.

Many of the Colonial dioceses have also Theological Colleges of their own for the training of their Clergy. But the Colonial and Missionary Clergy are mostly supplied from England, for which purpose there are in this country two large colleges, and several smaller ones. First amongst them we will mention St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, founded by St. Augustine, at Canterbury, which afterwards took the name of St. Augustine's, having been suppressed in 1538, suitable portions of the site were in 1844 purchased by Mr. Beresford Hope (now M.P. for Cambridge University); and there (as much as possible of the original structure being preserved) St. Augustine's College was built for the carrying out the work that SS. Gregory and Augustine had so much at heart, viz. the education of Missionary Clergymen for foreign work[f].

St. Boniface College, Warminster, now affiliated to Durham University, was founded in 1860 by the Rev. Sir James Erasmus Philipps, Bart., as a preparatory institution for those who were either too young to, or who for other reasons could not, enter St. Augustine's: but since 1877 St. Boniface's has held an independent position; the number of its

[f] Every candidate, before his formal admission as a student, must declare his intention of serving the Church of England in the distant dependencies of the Empire.

students has been doubled, and it now occupies in the west and centre of England a position similar to that which St. Augustine's holds in the east[g].

In addition to these colleges must be mentioned:—the Church Missionary College, Islington (founded 1825), in connexion with the Church Missionary Society[h]; the College of SS. Peter and Paul at Dorchester, near Oxford (founded 1878); St. Paul's Mission House, Burgh-le-Marsh, Lincolnshire (1878); and St. Stephen's House, Oxford (1876), founded chiefly for Missionary work abroad, but also for Pastoral work at home, with the hope that there should always be in the life of the students at St. Stephen's some special reference to foreign missionary purposes.

Nor must we omit from this catalogue King's College, London, almost a University in its range of subjects and staff of teachers—which was incorporated in 1829 and opened in 1831—where a sound Theological instruction is provided for those who wish to prepare for Holy Orders. Then there is the University of Durham, founded in 1832 through the munificence of Bishop Van Mildert and the Dean and Chapter of Durham, who transferred to it a large income from their own resources, and on which in

[g] All students employ some time in carpentering, printing, &c., such works as are useful in missionary life.

[h] The cost of the college and the maintenance of students is borne by the C. M. S.

1837 a Royal Charter was bestowed empowering it to confer degrees.

At a time when all tests and subscriptions have been done away with; when College Headships and Fellowships have, with few exceptions, been thrown open without restriction; when all Degrees, except those in Divinity, have been extended to men of any or no belief, the foundation, in 1870, of Keble College, Oxford (in commemoration of the Author of the "Christian Year"), and the success which has attended it, has been of the first importance as affording a guarantee for religious education of which every other college has been deprived. Keble College is a distinctly Church College, where men may receive a University education on an economical system, but it does not in other respects differ from other colleges; it has a chapel, a library, and a hall equalled by few colleges, and now stands in the number of its undergraduates amongst the largest colleges in the University.

But the teaching of Keble College was necessarily confined to the walls of the college. The New Pusey House, therefore, not being in connexion with any college in particular, will, when built, be in a position to supply the need, and to afford Church teaching to members of all colleges alike. It is designed to perpetuate the memory of him who was the central figure in the Church Revival of 1833; to whose unshaken loyalty and unswerving devotion for

fifty years the present efficiency of the Church is largely attributable; and to effect the object for which the Pusey House is intended, Dr. Pusey's library has been purchased, and three Librarians appointed, whose duty it is to afford help and assistance to Theological students.

In June, 1881, was laid, in commemoration of the late Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. Selwyn, the foundation-stone of Selwyn College, Cambridge, which is intended to promote the mission-work of the Church, and which, it is hoped, will prove a worthy rival at Cambridge to Keble College at Oxford[1].

At Cambridge also there is a Theological Tripos, and at Oxford a Theological School, the latter with the purpose (as Dr. Pusey said at the time) of "saving Theology from being crushed out by the pressure of new subjects."

We will now contrast the state and efficiency of the Church of the present day with what existed in the early part of the century. As has been already stated, an Act of Parliament was in the early part of this century required for building a church. In 1818 Parliament voted a sum of £1,000,000, and afterwards a second grant of £500,000, and a third of £426,000, altogether £1,926,000, for the building

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[1] "Ad cultum virtutis ac doctrinæ, ad augmentum fidei Christianæ ad ethnicos usque."—Speech of the High Steward of the University.

additional churches, principally in London. The Church Building Society was called into existence in 1818, and from that time till 1851 had the benefit of an annual Royal Letter, directing that collections should be made for it in the churches, which secured a considerable addition to its funds[k]. We have already seen how few churches were built during the first twenty years of the century[l]; at the present day it is calculated that since the commencement of the century no fewer than 9,000 churches have been either built or restored, and this work has, with but slight exceptions, been wholly accomplished by Church Funds, Church Societies, and the gifts of private Churchmen[m].

As to the money spent on those churches. No record has been preserved as to the sum spent on church building or church restoration for the first forty years of the century. But in 1875 a return was made to Parliament, on the motion of the late Lord Hampton, from which it was found that the sum expended (not including sums under £500, nor the value of lands, rent-charges, or money en-

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[k] This Letter was stopped, under an idea that it conferred an advantage on the Church over Dissent.

[l] Vol. ii. p. 221.

[m] It must, however, be borne in mind that whereas in 1801 the population was only 8,892,536, it amounted in 1881 to 25,968,286, and that in the decade 1871—1881 it increased by 3,256,020 souls, there being for every three deaths five births.

dowments) amounted between 1840 and 1874 to £24,403,261. Since that return was made the account stops. The Committee of the Official Year Book, however, has ascertained that the amount contributed from private sources only in one year (1884) for the building and restoration of churches, the endowment of benefices, the building and enlargement of Parsonage-houses, and additions to church burial-grounds, was £1,455,839, or in round numbers about a million and a half. Multiply this sum by ten for the ten years between 1874 and 1884, we get the amount of fifteen millions. Add together the two sums (£15,000,000 and £24,403,261) and we find the total close upon £40,000,000; thus on this head there is an expenditure by the Church of not less (at the very least) than £1,000,000 a year.

A great change has also taken place in the numbers of parishes and in the value of benefices. At the beginning of the century the number of parishes was about 10,600; since then 2,700 parochial districts have been added; at the beginning of the century there were ten thousand three hundred Clergymen, of whom 5,230 were curates; in 1841 there were 14,603; there are now upwards of twenty-three thousand Clergymen, of whom some nineteen thousand are engaged in parochial work, in the proportion of two-thirds as Incumbents and one-third as curates. In 1802 more than half the Livings were under £50 in value, many were as low as £30, and for 4,800

there was no habitable parsonage. During the last fifty years five thousand one hundred parsonage-houses have been built.

The two Funds to which the Church is principally indebted for a better provision in the increase of benefices are Queen Anne's Bounty, and the Ecclesiastical Commission which was established in 1836. Queen Anne's Bounty, which is strictly a Church Fund, the annual income of which has been raised by members of the Church from £15,000 to £160,000, is chiefly employed in loans towards the building, rebuilding, or improving parsonage-houses. To some extent, however, it aids towards the increase of poor Livings; to which last purpose the fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is entirely devoted, conditionally (as a rule) upon an equal or larger amount being forthcoming from private benefactions.

The work done by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners has been invaluable. They have constituted 3,079 new districts; they have augmented and endowed with £300 a year all parishes in public patronage which have a population of 4,000 or upwards, and have largely contributed towards the building of parsonage-houses; they have endowed about 300 new benefices created since 1871; they have raised to £300 a year many parishes with a smaller population than 4,000; they have largely added to benefactions from private sources to in-

crease benefices in private patronage; and they provide annually about £24,000, to meet an almost equal sum, for providing additional curates to the mining population. They have made grants amounting to more than twenty-three millions, of which £3,872,212 were from private benefactors, to about 5,000 benefices. Other public sources are the Tithe Redemption Trust of 1846, and the increase of incomes derived from the sale of the smaller Livings under the Lord Chancellor's (Westbury) Augmentation of Benefices Act of 1863, by which last the sum of about £25,000 has been added to the capital endowment of churches.

In several dioceses separate funds have been raised for the spiritual needs of the diocese. There is a special fund in the Dioceses of London, Winchester, and Rochester; there is the Wilberforce Memorial Fund (1873); the Bishop of Bedford's Fund; St. Albans' Fund; funds for the Dioceses of Durham, Newcastle, Llandaff, St. David's, and Worcester: these funds are raised for providing additional Clergymen and churches.

So much have benefices increased in value of late years that it has been found difficult to dispose of many which, fifty years ago, were of average value. Questionable as the sale of advowsons generally is, there can be no question that Lord Chancellor Westbury conferred a great boon upon the Church when, in 1863, he obtained an Act of Parliament, empower-

ing him to sell Livings in the Chancellor's gift of less than £300 in value (the schedule of the Act puts the number of such Livings at 327), the proceeds of the sale to be devoted to the augmentation of the income of the Livings[n].

In 1843 the average stipend paid to curates[o] was £82 2*s.* 10*d.*[p]; in 1853, £79; in 1863, £97 10*s.*; in 1873, £129 5*s.* 8*d.*; in the present day it is £150. It will easily be understood that the position of curates necessarily differs from that of incumbents, for when its revenues were assigned to the Church the class of assistant curates did not exist; and provision was therefore only made for the one Clergyman who served the parish church.

The question arises, Whence is the stipend of the curates derived? If we place the gross curate income at £900,000, about half of which is believed to be paid by the incumbents, Whence is the other half derived? Of the Societies which contribute to this desirable object, the three principal are the Pastoral Aid, the Additional Curates, and the Curates' Augmentation Fund. Of these, the Pastoral Aid, founded in 1836, in the interests of the "Evangelical Party," has spent £1,174,000; and the Additional Curates'

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[n] No Advowson purchased under this Act could be sold again for five years.

[o] For Curates' stipends, see vol. ii. p. 229.

[p] The Church and her Curates. Edited by the Rev. J. J. Halcombe.

Society, founded in 1837, £1,599,000. The Curates' Augmentation Fund was instituted at Lambeth Palace in 1867, with the object, "to give to the working curate while at work an augmentation or additional stipend of, if possible, £100 per annum, over and above the stipend which he receives from other sources.... It is proposed, in the first instance, that every curate of fifteen years standing or upwards being in the *bonâ fide* receipt of a clerical income of at least £100 a year, or £80 a year and a house, shall be eligible for a grant[q]. There are at present in active work as curates 1,060 men, whose length of service exceeds 15 years[r].

So that it may be said that a curate, starting on his curate's life, is secured an income at the commencement which compares favourably with other professions for which an equally expensive education is required; in fact we may go further and say, that many doctors and lawyers begin life without the certainty of obtaining so good an income as a curate, even supposing that the latter never obtains preferment[s].

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[q] The Position and Prospects of Stipendiary Curates.

[r] Official Year Book for 1886, 409.

[s] The hardest part of a curate's position is that the older he gets (when he arrives at the age of forty and forty-five) his chances of getting a curacy diminish, incumbents often not liking to have a curate older than themselves. That there should be some provision made for superannuated curates is very desirable.

There is also an Incumbents' Sustentation Fund (now affiliated to the Additional Curates' Society), originated by the Marquis of Lorne in 1873, with the object of raising the income of every benefice in England and Wales to a minimum of £200 a year, either by permanent endowment or by annual grant.

Nor must we omit to mention the Clergy Pensions Institution, initiated in 1885, of which it is proposed that a Clergyman under 40 may enter at a yearly payment of £2 2*s.*, and Clergymen above that age and under 64, at payments varying from three to seven guineas a year. The nominal age of retirement has been fixed at 65, although under circumstances of permanent disablement they may retire at 50, but of course with a smaller annuity.

In this place we may mention, as bearing on the subject, two Acts of Parliament, one of which, the "Bishops' Resignation Act," was passed in 1869, and the other, the "Benefices Resignation Act," in 1870; from a comparison of which Acts and the hard terms provided for Incumbents and the easy terms for the Bishops, it will be seen that the latter must have taken excellent care of themselves in Parliament. By the former of these Acts, entitled "An Act for the Relief of Archbishops and Bishops when incapacitated by infirmity," the See is to be filled as if the Bishop of the Diocese were dead, except that he is to be paid whatever is the larger of two sums, one third of the emoluments of the

See, or £2,000 a year: he is to retain the episcopal residence, and his rank, style, and privileges, except the patronage. In the case of the See of Sodor and Man, the retiring Bishop is to receive £1,000 a year; whilst of the two Archbishops, York is to receive £7,000 and Canterbury £11,000. In a word, the retiring Prelate retains all the grandeur of a Peer without the work of a Bishop.

The second of the Acts referred to is the "Benefices Resignation Act." Under that Act an Incumbent who is incapacitated, or desirous of being relieved from his work, is entitled, with the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, to receive a pension not exceeding a third of the gross income of the Living, but must quit the parsonage-house[t].

Some important alterations in the services of the Church have resulted from the Ritual Commission of 1867[u]; one from the third Report, in consequence of which an improved Lectionary has been adopted[v]; the other the result of the fourth Report[x]. With respect to the latter, after the Convocations of Can-

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[t] The Bishop's pension is also unforfeitable; the Incumbent's may be forfeited for any cause which would have entailed forfeiture during his tenure of the Living.

[u] See vol. ii. p. 364.

[v] An Act to amend the Law relating to the Table of Lessons and Psalter contained in the Prayer-Book (1871).

[x] An Act for the Amendment of the Act of Uniformity (1872).

terbury and York had been consulted and reported upon it, a shortened form of service, in parish churches in lieu of, and in cathedrals in addition to, the Morning and Evening Prayer, except on Sunday, Christmas Day, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and Ascension Day, is allowed. The following portions of the Prayer-Book may, at the discretion of the Minister, be omitted:—The Exhortation, the Venite, one or more Psalms (one at least, or one part of the 119th Psalm being retained); one Lesson, except where a Proper Lesson or two Proper Lessons are appointed; the service always ending with the Prayer of St. Chrysostom and 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

It is also established under this Act (if that were necessary, for there is no authority for blending the services, a custom which was probably commenced by Archbishop Grindal) that Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Offices may be used as separate services; and that a sermon or lecture may be preached without any common prayers or services appointed in the Prayer-Book, so long as it be preceded by the Order for Morning or for Evening Prayer authorized by the Act, or by the Bidding Prayer, or by one prayer taken from the Prayer-Book.

Another provision of the Act must be mentioned. Upon any special occasion there may be used in cathedrals and churches a special form of service, approved by the Ordinary, so long as there is not

introduced into such service anything (except anthems or hymns) which does not form part of the Prayer-Book or Bible.

On April 30, 1885, a Revised Version of the Bible was presented to Convocation. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were two English Bibles in use in England, namely the Bishops' Bible, which had been approved by Convocation for public use, and the Genevan Bible, which was the popular Bible for the household. The obvious inconvenience of having two versions of the Bible in use at the same time was remedied in the reign of James I., when in 1611 was published the *Authorized Version*, which held its own for upwards of 250 years. But the increased knowledge which had been gained during that period created a demand for a revision of the Bible; and on February 10, 1870, a proposal for a revision was submitted to Convocation, and favourably received by both Houses: and two committees were formed with a view of correcting the errors of the Authorized Version, and rendering a closer reading of the originals in English, according to "the pure and native significance of the words." In this revised version the English-speaking world has a removal of some manifest blemishes which occur in the Authorised Version. We must, however, still hope for the time when a better Version will be forthcoming, and can only say that the Old Testament is better done than the New.

Bills for allowing a man to marry two sisters have, thus far, been rejected in Parliament. The second reading of a Bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister was this year (1886) once again introduced in the House of Lords by the Duke of St. Albans[y]. The Duke of Argyll in opposing the Bill, said that during the forty years he had been a member of that House a "Deceased Wife's Sister Bill" had been discussed once in every three years. The prospects of the measure have considerably retrograded during the last three years. It had been assented to seven times in the House of Commons, and in 1883 was carried by a majority of seven in the House of Lords, to be thrown out at a later stage by a majority of five. In the present year the proposed Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords by a majority of twenty-two, so that, as there were only twenty Bishops present in the House, the Bill was defeated by a majority of lay lords.

We have, we think, now said enough to show that the revival effected in the Church during these last fifty years has been marvellous. It may truly be said that never has the Church been more efficient, never more beloved by Churchmen, never more beneficial to the State, never more liberal, never less formal, than it is in the present day. Everything around us bears witness to this fact; few, except political op-

[y] The Bill was intended to be retrospective.

ponents and unbelievers, are found to dispute it. The tone and influence of the Clergy; the zeal of the Laity; Ruri-decanal Synods, Diocesan Synods, Diocesan Conferences, Church Congresses; Guilds, Confraternities, Penitentiaries, Orphanages, Missions, Retreats, Quiet Days; the increased number and improved character of daily and Saints'-day Services, and of the Celebrations of Holy Communion; the work of Missions; the spread of Education; the tone of our Universities and public schools; the revival of suffragan Bishops; the building and restoration of churches; an improved style of church building not unworthy of the best days of our Gothic architecture; the number of free and open churches; the substitution of the offertory for pew-rents; in a word, in every department of the Church, look where we will, the improvement is universal. We have kept for the end of this chapter one prominent work of mercy, to which all classes of society, poor as well as rich, are ready to give their hearty acknowledgment, the work of Sisterhoods, to enumerate which, within our present limits, would be impossible[1]. The work of nursing the sick is now (thanks to the Church) undertaken by gentle, well-born women, who are ready at a moment's notice, on the receipt of a letter or telegram asking for help, to undergo severe toils

[1] They occupy six pages (146—152) in the Official Year Book for 1886; whilst Orphanages occupy three (152—155); Deaconesses' Institutions three (155—158).

and privations; and we frequently find Sisters nursing in miserable hovels, putting up with "accommodation which a well-cared for pig would regard as totally inadequate[a]."

All attempts to establish Brotherhoods have been hitherto unsuccessful, not from any fault of the Church, but owing to the injudicious manner in which the work has been essayed. In days when no Priest, Anglican or Roman, ventures to appear in the streets in his cassock, it cannot be expected that a full-blown costume of scapular and cowl worn by a Deacon would produce anything but laughter from a crowd of street-urchins. It ought to be remembered that "cucullus non facit monachum;" people in England do not like naked feet, nor do they like dirt, for they consider cleanliness to be next to godliness. Brotherhoods may in time do good service to the Church, but up to the present time, whereas no scandal has been connected with Sisterhoods, owing to their being placed under some recognized Clergyman, the late history of Brotherhoods in England has been a scandal from beginning to end.

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[a] *Guardian*, Aug. 6, 1866, on Rev. J. M. Neale.

CHAPTER V.

THE PAST AND PRESENT OF NONCONFORMITY.

WITHIN the last fifty years a marked and important difference has taken place in the attitude of Nonconformity towards the Church. At the time of the Revolution the leading Nonconformists held that there ought to be a National Church, and that separation between Church and State would be fraught with danger to the latter; in the present day a section of their members profess to hold, on political rather than religious grounds, that no National Church ought to exist, and do all in their power to weaken and to destroy it.

So plentiful, we might say noisy, in their unfounded assumptions are these latter-day opponents to the Church, that we propose to meet assertions which it is easy for any one to make, not by counter-assertions, but by historical facts; and accordingly we shall in this chapter give a short account of Protestant Nonconformity in England from its birth to the present time.

Before the Reformation, dissent, in the modern sense of the word, did not exist in England. In all ages and countries there always have been, and there

always must be (from the very construction of the human mind), in religion as in everything else, some people who object to authorized and established methods, whether it be in Church or State. And this opposition in the ecclesiastical as well as the civil polity is, within proper bounds, not only inevitable, but an essential condition of vitality.

The Puritans, the progenitors of the modern Dissenters, held it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to uphold a State Establishment. They made their first appearance in England during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but being driven from England by the persecutions in the reign of Mary, many of them took refuge in Germany and Switzerland. On the accession of Elizabeth they returned to England, deeply imbued with the system of Church government and doctrine which Calvin had established in Geneva: they had a preference for Presbyterianism, and a deep-rooted conviction that the English Reformation had not gone far enough in the way of reform. They imported into England a preference for Calvin's doctrine on the questions of election, absolute and irreversible decrees, and particular redemption. Every vestige of ceremonial they condemned as a badge of Popery, or, what they considered as bad, Lutheranism. They objected to set forms of prayer, to the singing the Church's services, to all instrumental accompaniments, to the sign of the Cross, to kneeling at Holy Communion,

to bowing at the Name of Jesus, to the ring in marriage. They were far from being all of one mind; there were various conflicting sects, with no cohesion except hostility to the Church; there were Presbyterians who would abolish Episcopacy altogether; there were the Brownists[a], who were afterwards merged in the Independents and Congregationalists, and who objected both to Presbyterianism and Episcopacy; sects ready to fly at each other's throats, as soon as one or the other attained preeminence, and each applying in their time of need to that Church which in their day of prosperity they had done their best to pull down.

The hatred which these sects bore to the Church soon extended itself to the throne. Early in the reign of Elizabeth the Puritans formed a majority in the House of Commons, and had it not been for the judgment and discretion of the Queen, whose hand was always kept on the national pulse, the contest which was thus put off till the time of Charles I. would have occurred in her reign. The Commons had the power, which they afterwards used to such terrible purpose, of withholding the supplies; and the last Parliament of Elizabeth's reign showed that they meant to use that power, if they should find it

[a] Founded by Robert Browne, a Clergyman who seceded from the Church of England in 1569; he was in 1589 reconciled, and remained a member of the Church till his death in 1640.

necessary. But Elizabeth, who in matters of religion had no idea of yielding to either the Puritans or Romanists, in civil matters, where she could yield conscientiously, yielded gracefully, and so the danger was averted for a future day.

A thankless attempt had been made to satisfy Puritans in the reign of Edward VI., when, in order to meet their views, the Prayer-Book was modified. But nothing would content them ; Neal tells us that they required the pulling down of all "Cathedral Churches, where the Service of God is grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, ringing, and trowling of Psalms, with the squeaking of chanting choristers disguised, as are all the rest, in white surplices, some in corner-caps and filthy copes, imitating the manner and fashion of Antichrist, the Pope." All they wanted to enable them to break out into open hostility was a leader, and such they found in the person of Thomas Cartwright, who, having been Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was expelled the University on account of his heretical opinions, and who, having afterwards travelled on the Continent and becoming indoctrinated with the views of Beza, Calvin's successor, returned to England with a bitter hostility to the English Church. Under Cartwright the first organised separation of the Puritans from the English Church took place, and the first Presbytery on Calvinistic principles was established at Wandsworth ;

eleven Elders (or Presbyters) were chosen; their offices were described as the "Orders of Wandsworth;" and the Genevan Service-Book was adopted. Other Presbyteries were soon set up in the neighbouring counties; in a few years they were to be found in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, and soon afterwards in Lancashire and Cheshire. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in Parliament that there were 20,000 Separatists in the neighbourhood of London, Essex, and Norfolk; so greatly had they increased in influence that in 1584 a Bill was introduced, although unsuccessfully, into Parliament, for the reform of Church abuses, and "to establish a Presbytery, or Eldership, in each parish, together with the Minister, to determine the spiritual business of the parish."

With the dynasty of the Stuarts the strange theory about the Divine Right of Kings; the idea that the rule of primogeniture was a divine institution, anterior even to the Mosaic dispensation, and that God shows peculiar favour to hereditary monarchy; first came into vogue. James I. formally enunciated that doctrine which was to prove so fatal to more than one of his family; but James also advocated the divine right of Bishops, not so much because he cared for Bishops, as because the Bishops upheld the divine right of Kings. Hence arose the unpopularity of the throne, and on the unpopularity of the throne followed as a consequence the unpopularity of the

Church. The bulk of the country gentlemen, the bulk of the wealthier traders, became Puritans. In the first Parliament of James I.'s reign the House of Commons refused to transact business on Sunday. His second Parliament chose to receive the Holy Communion at St. Margaret's instead of Westminster Abbey, "for fear of Copes and Wafer-cakes[b]." These might be only straws, but they showed the quarter from which the wind was blowing; the time was fast approaching when either the King must become absolute, or Parliament control the whole executive administration; unfortunately in the struggle that ensued the cause of Puritanism became identified with the cause of civil liberty, and the cause of the Church with that of tyranny.

During the Primacy of Archbishop Bancroft (1604—1610), Clarendon assures us that the Church was nearly rescued out of the hands of the Puritans; that if he (Bancroft) had lived, he would have extinguished all the fire that had been kindled in England from Geneva; "or if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrewes or Bishop Overall, or any man who understood and loved the Church, that infection would easily have been kept out which could not afterwards be so easily expelled[c]." Unfortunately, Abbot, an extreme Calvinist, had written a book which flattered James's vanity, and he was translated

[b] Green's Hist. of the English People, iii. 15.

[c] Clarendon, i. 26.

from the See of London to that of Canterbury. He undid all the good which his predecessor had effected, so that during his Primacy the breach between the Church and Puritanism was sensibly and materially increased. Abbot put the finishing stroke, which had been begun by Cranmer, to the removal of all ceremonial in Lambeth Chapel. The cope was no longer used there in Holy Communion. The Primate and his Chaplains forbore to bow at the name of Jesus. The organ and choir were abolished, and the service reduced to a simplicity which would have satisfied Calvin[d]. When the Archbishop himself was, in all but name, a Puritan, no wonder the power of the Puritans so increased that a few years after his death they obtained the object of their wishes, the substitution of Presbyterianism for an Episcopal Church Government. Abbot no doubt intended to act conscientiously, and wished to make concessions to tender consciences; but during the long tenure of his Primacy he was too surely preparing the evils of which Laud became the victim, and of which Laud is considered (though wrongly) to have been the originator.

Charles I. was brought up in a school which for some time had been gradually but surely getting out of date. The condition of the Church was outwardly flourishing, but beneath was smouldering the

[d] Green, iii. 16.

volcano which was soon to burst with such terrible violence. In the first Parliament of his reign the Puritans formed a majority in the House of Commons, and with great dexterity they seized the opportunity which their power conferred on them. It is not proposed here to enter minutely into the conflict between the King and Parliament, which can be found in any ordinary History of England; we will content ourselves with relating the most important results of that conflict.

In the first Parliament of the reign, which met on June 18, 1625, the Commons set forth their grievances, and presented a petition for enforcing the laws against Papists. In 1633 Laud was raised to the See of Canterbury. Nothing offended the Puritans so much as his endeavours to introduce a more decent ceremonial into the services of the Church than had existed under Abbot. The practice which had been in vogue of moving the Holy Table into the body of the church at the time of the Celebration had led to much irreverence and desecration. The altar was made the receptacle of the hats and overcoats of the congregation, and was sometimes used as a table where the churchwardens cast up their accounts. Laud therefore ordered that the altars should at all times stand at the east end of the choir, raised above the level of the floor, and fenced in by a rail; a decent arrangement which, however, brought upon him opposition even from the Bishops.

The storm began in Scotland. A revolutionary committee, designated the "Tables," was formed in that country: and in March, 1638, the people signed, in the churchyard of the Grey Friars in Edinburgh, a *Solemn League and Covenant* to abolish Episcopacy, not only in Scotland, but in England and Ireland also, and to restore the liberty and purity of the Gospel: Christ, they said, was Himself a *Covenanter;* and whoever refused to join them was designated an Atheist.

Such was the state of affairs when the famous Parliament, known from its duration (1640—1652) as the Long Parliament, met; that Parliament which, beginning with the execution of Strafford, the object of even greater hatred than Laud, did not end its work till the Primate and the King, and some of the first nobility in the land, were committed to the block, and Church and State fell in a common ruin. It first attacked the Clergy generally, but soon its anger centred itself upon Laud. To Laud were imputed all the evils under which the nation groaned; he was a "great firebrand;" an "angry wasp leaving its sting in everything;" and he was "false to the Church." A debate in the House of Commons ended in a vote that he was a *traitor*, and on March 1, 1641, pursued by the insults and revilings of the populace, he was committed to the Tower, from whence he was to emerge twice, the first time for his trial, the second for his execution.

On March 15, "a committee of religion," consisting of twenty lay peers and ten Bishops (of which last only four consented to serve), with a sub-committee consisting mostly of Puritans, was formed for the reformation of abuses both in doctrine and discipline. Most of their proceedings were directed against Laud.

On May 21 was introduced into the House of Commons a "Root and Branch Bill," for abolishing Episcopacy and all the chief offices of the Church; and in the autumn of the same year Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland, as contrary to the Word of God, its abolition in that country being confirmed by the King.

In the autumnal recess of Parliament the Commons appointed a committee for the transaction of business, by which means they were enabled to get into their hands the management of ecclesiastical affairs. They appointed lecturers who invaded the pulpits, preached violence and sedition, denounced Episcopacy, and, indirectly, the King himself. They gave orders for the churchwardens to remove the altars from the east end of the churches, and to take away the rails; the churches were profaned; the Sacraments depraved; marriages were illegally performed, and the ring omitted; painted windows were demolished, monumental brasses defaced, and tombs destroyed.

In 1642 the "Root and Branch Bill," which was

introduced, but not passed, in the former year, passed the two Houses of Parliament; the Bishops were deprived of their seats in the House of Lords, in which no Bishop sat again for twenty years; and soon afterwards they were deprived of their incomes, and many of them were reduced to extreme want. In 1643 a Bill was passed for the abolition of Episcopacy in England. An Assembly known as the "Westminster Assembly of Divines"—consisting of 131 ministers, by far the greater number of whom were Presbyterians, some Independents, and thirty laymen—met for the first time in King Henry VII.'s Chapel on Sunday, July 1, 1643. The Assembly agreed to the *Solemn League and Covenant* which had been already adopted in Scotland, and which was now to be signed by every person in England of the age of eighteen; and prepared a *Directory for Public Worship*, which was ordered to take the place of the Prayer-Book, and to come into use on January 3, 1645. The King issued from Oxford a proclamation, forbidding the use of the Directory; but the Houses of Parliament had adopted a counterfeit Great Seal, which they affixed to their ordinances, so that the royal authority was rendered unnecessary. *A Committee for the Removal of Scandalous Ministers*, that is of Clergymen who remained faithful to the Church, was appointed, and many most learned and devout Clergymen were accused, sometimes by the most depraved of their parishioners, of being *scandalous* and *malignant*. The

greater part of the Clergy—Gauden places the number at 8,000—were deprived of their benefices, many of them left to starve; a pension not exceeding one-fifth of their benefices being only in some cases assigned to them: and if we place the whole number of the Clergy at 9,000[f], it will be seen that the number of those ejected must have included nearly all the Clergy in England. The places of these deprived Clergymen were filled by Puritans, mostly Presbyterians, but not a few Independents, as well as Baptists and other Sectaries[g]. Not only was public worship according to the ritual of the Church of England forbidden, but to read the Prayer-Book by the bedside of the dying was a crime; whilst, lest the Clergy should find other means of influencing the public mind, their tenure of all such offices as that of lecturer or schoolmaster was prohibited[h].

On January 10, 1645, Laud was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill. On January 30, 1649, Charles I. was beheaded in front of the Banqueting House of Whitehall. His body was taken to Windsor, where the Bishop of London was present to officiate at the funeral, but the governor refused permission:—"It was not lawful," he said; "the Common Prayer-Book was put down, and he would

[f] Chamberlayne, in his *State of Britain* for 1684, estimates the number of parishes at 9,725.

[g] See vol. i. p. 114.

[h] Ch. Quarterly Review, July, 1877.

not suffer it to be used in that garrison or where he commanded." So the King was buried without the Church's Service.

Such was the result of the triumph of the Puritans: they first destroyed the Church, and soon destroyed the throne afterwards.

For eleven years England was virtually governed by the sword. The Independents (to which sect Cromwell belonged) became supreme in the State; and as the influence of the Independents increased, that of the Presbyterians grew weaker and weaker: and the latter retired to the Livings from which they had expelled the lawful owners. When it was too late, Cromwell repented of the evil which he had done to the Church, and began to understand the intolerant spirit of the Presbyterians—"that insolent sect," as he called them, "which could tolerate none but itself"—and would fain have restored the Church and the Monarchy. Eighteen months of anarchy ensued after his death; by that time the nation became thoroughly sensible of its degradation, and longed for the restoration of the Church and throne: religion had fallen into contempt; and even the Presbyterians, who had become jealous of the Independents, desired the return of the King. Together with the throne the Church was without difficulty, and to the great joy of the nation, restored: the Bishops took possession of their dioceses, and by the resumption of the Liturgy in his private chapel,

Charles II. showed that Puritanism was at an end, and that the Church of England was once more England's Church.

A new Act of Uniformity was to come into operation on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, the anniversary of the Act of the Long Parliament, which had in 1645 prohibited the use of the Prayer-Book. The Church of England is an Episcopal Church, so the new Act necessarily required every beneficed person to be episcopally ordained, and to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the revised Book of Common Prayer[1]. On St. Bartholomew's Day some eight hundred Presbyterians were ejected from the benefices into which they had been intruded: as to the exact numbers authorities differ; Baxter, indeed, places the number at eighteen hundred, whilst Calamy makes it as high as two thousand. But even at its highest calculation the number of Nonconformists ejected was only a quarter of those Episcopalians whose benefices they had usurped: the rest retained their benefices, and remained on in the Church from whose doctrine and discipline most of them widely differed.

With regard to those who resigned on St. Bartholomew's Day, their case was very different from that of the Clergymen who had been deprived of their benefices at the Rebellion. No doubt to many of

[1] I.e. the Prayer-Book which is now in use.

the former obedience to the dictates of their conscience brought distress and poverty; but, unlike the Clergy which they had supplanted, most of them had been tradesmen or men of business, and so could fall back upon the trades or professions which they had left. Some may consider their cases hard, but we must consider also how much harder it would have been for the Church if she had been obliged to keep them. Bishop Thomas of Worcester, in a sermon preached in 1688, speaks of the state in which they had left the churches: "windows unglazed and shattered, floors unpaved, depraved with pits; roofs ungarnished, even unceiled, with rudeness of profaneness; walls defaced with gashes[k]." If this was the consequence of a few years of Puritan pre-eminence, what would have been the result of a continuation of their rule? "The whole revenues of the Church," says Clarendon, "will hardly allow necessaries to the first Incumbents by the time the churches are made fit for God's service, and the houses for man's habitation."

Many of those who were ejected continued to hold meetings and to preach; but although they regarded toleration to Roman Catholics with abhorrence, they expected toleration for themselves. During the reign of Charles II. they found no toleration, and many severe Acts of Parliament were passed against them.

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[k] Worcester Dioc. Hist., p. 383.

Into the nature and character of those Acts we do not propose to enter; we readily admit that they were cruel; the toleration of Dissenters began under William III., and was perfected by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; this is all they professed to want, for they knew that if they claimed more they would risk all; they thus became established by the State; they now enjoy greater freedom than the Church; and with this they might reasonably have been expected to remain contented.

During the whole of the last and the first quarter of the present century the struggle of the Nonconformists had been in a just cause, for the removal of the civil disabilities under which they laboured. No sooner, however, had these disabilities been removed, than a crop of religious scruples began to spring up. The publication of Banns of Marriage; the solemnization of their marriages in the churches; the custody of the Parish Registers; the payment of Church-rates; the burial of their dead by the Church, now came to be regarded as badges of inferiority. The Reformed Parliament of 1832 set itself to work to remove these supposed grievances: and from that time to this the efforts of the Dissenters have been directed not only to equality with, but superiority over, the Church. The number and influence of Dissenters, when under the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements the Church was bound in fetters by the State, had immensely increased.

Still, during the first quarter of the present century, so long as the Church was asleep, and too inactive to excite either jealousy or alarm, Dissent remained quiet; it was only when the Church awoke out of its slumbers, and put forth new strength, that the Dissenters began to clamour not only for the Disestablishment of the Church, but for its Disendowment also.

Dissent, if left to its own resources, would have been powerless against the Church. Unfortunately it was joined by lukewarm Churchmen, many of whom were themselves but semi-conformists to the Church; who would, it is true, have repudiated with indignation the name of Dissenters, but whose Churchmanship was purely political. The Latitudinarian, or, as it was now called, the Broad Church School, gained ground in the country and in Parliament; a so-called *Liberality* was advocated, as being consonant with the reformed spirit of the times. An idea became prevalent that the Church was a rival of the State; statesmen, shutting their eyes to the plainest facts of history, conjured up the notion that it was *established and endowed* by Parliament; that Parliament had a right to deal with it as it pleased.

The first change which Parliament made to satisfy Dissenters was with respect to the marriage law. Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753 continued to be law till 1836. That Act declared that all marriages must be performed (after banns published in the

church, or after licence) in a church and within certain hours, except under special licence, and in all cases by a Clergyman of the Church of England. Lord John Russell, in introducing in 1836 the "Marriage and Registration Bills," laid it down as a principle that the State has no interest in the *form* of marriage, so long as it is binding on the consciences of the contracting parties. Two Acts[1] were passed, the one sanctioning a civil registration of all births, marriages, and deaths; the other allowing Dissenters to be married in their own chapels. Under the "Marriage Act" persons have the option of two forms of marriage, either with or without a religious ceremony; if with a religious ceremony, then the marriage may be performed either in a church or a Dissenting chapel. If the marriage is solemnized in church, then it must be either after banns published on three successive Sundays, or licence, in the former case after fifteen, and in the latter after seven, previous days of residence; and the marriage must be celebrated in the canonical hours, i.e. between 8 a.m. and 12 m.[m]. If a marriage is performed in a Dissenting chapel (the chapel having been first licensed on the application of twenty householders), there must be present the Registrar of the dis-

[1] 6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 85 and 86.

[m] But by a new Act passed in the present year (1886) the hours are extended from 8 a.m. to 3 p.m., though the Canon Law remains unaltered.

trict in which the parties reside[n], but the minister may use whatever form of service he likes. If the marriage without a religious ceremony is preferred, it must take place in the office of the Registrar of the district in the presence of witnesses, before whom the contracting parties exchange a declaration that each takes the other as man or wife.

In 1834 an attempt was made to obtain for the Dissenters fuller privileges than they had hitherto enjoyed at the Universities. Since 1793 the University of Dublin had been thrown open to Dissenters, who were admitted to Degrees in Arts and Medicine; and at Cambridge a student was not required until he took his B.A. degree to declare himself a *bonâ fide* member of the English Church; but no one could matriculate at Oxford without signing the XXXIX. Articles. In consequence of this exclusion other disabilities arose. The Inns of Court admitted graduates to the Bar in three years, non-graduates in five, whilst none but graduates were admitted as Fellows of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. A Bill for the admission of Dissenters to degrees at the Universities passed, on July 28, 1834, the House of Commons by 164 to 75 votes[o], but

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[n] "A Bill to amend the Law respecting the Attendance of Registrars at Nonconformist Marriages" was introduced into the House of Commons in 1886, but was dropped.

[o] One member, Mr. Baines of Leeds, argued that the word "Universities" meant not only institutions where everything

was defeated in the House of Lords by 187 to 85 votes. No alteration was at that time made with respect to Oxford or Cambridge; but in 1836 London University was established by Royal Charter, for the purpose of giving Dissenters a University education, and an annual grant was conferred by government, without any reference being made to religious belief.

The year 1845 was an eventful one in ecclesiastical matters[p]. On April 3, Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, brought forward in the House of Commons a scheme for a permanent grant of £30,000 a year to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, which had been established in 1795[q]. Outside Parliament Churchmen and Dissenters alike denounced the measure as a renunciation of Protestantism. Within the walls of Parliament, during six nights of the debate, the Prime Minister was attacked on all sides: one member doubted "whether he were a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, or a Mohammedan;" and another suggested that if the Queen attached her signature to the Bill she would sign away her title to the British Crown. But in spite of opposition, the Bill was carried by considerable majorities in both Houses.

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was to be taught, but where it was taught to all persons who wished it, without distinction.

[p] See Part IV. chap. ii.

[q] See vol. ii. p. 177.

The Roman Catholics, who were of course much gratified with the liberal spirit displayed by the government, soon felt themselves called upon to attack it, when Sir James Graham introduced a Ministerial Bill for establishing three purely secular colleges in Ireland, without tests or creeds, for the middle classes. Sir Robert Inglis, M.P. for the University of Oxford, stigmatized the measure as a great scheme for "godless" education. The Bill was, however, carried by a large majority in the House of Commons, and passed the Lords without a division; and the "godless" colleges, as they were called, of Cork, Galway, and Belfast were established.

Nothing short of a revolution was effected by the Universities' Commission of 1854—1857. Fellowships which were in no sense national property, being founded by Churchmen for the maintenance of men of their own religion, were for the first time alienated from the Church. In 1854 an Act[r] was passed for abolishing religious tests for the B.A. degree at Oxford; two years later[s], tests, except for degrees in Divinity, were abolished at Cambridge. From that time Cambridge became the favourite University with Dissenters, who, it must be allowed, frequently obtained the highest honours, although they were excluded from the Fellowships of the University.

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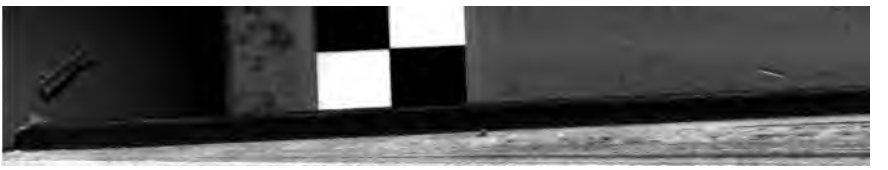
[r] The Oxford University Act. [s] Cambridge University Act.

Persons of any faith or of no faith at all being now admissible as members at both Universities, a still heavier blow was inflicted on the Church, when, in 1871, the "Act to alter the Law respecting religious Tests" at the Universities was passed under the first government of Mr. Gladstone[1]. By that Act Nonconformists became eligible to Fellowships and Tutorships, and the door was thrown open to the secularization of University teaching; but for a time clerical Headships of Colleges, and such Fellowships as were confined to the Clergy, were exempted. In 1877 a fresh University Commission was issued, and it now became the object of the opponents of the Church to unchristianize the Universities; the result of this Commission was that in 1882 Headships and Fellowships in the colleges were (with some exceptions) thrown open; at Oxford all clerical members on the foundation, except a minimum of one at some colleges, of two at St. John's and Magdalen, and of the Dean, six Canons, and three Students at Christ Church, and the Headship of Pembroke, which was too poor to dispense with the Canonry at Gloucester which is attached to it, were doomed; so that now a college may be presided over by a Romanist or a Socinian.

It was not to be expected that in the prevailing tendency to reform, Church-rates would remain un-

[1] 34 Vict. c. 26.



assailed. It is not necessary here to enter into the history of Church-rates; it need only be stated that from time immemorial land has been bought and sold with the understanding that the parish church is to be kept in repair by the parishioners. Church-rates were a tax, not on persons, but on property; the rate was really paid by the original donor; it was a deduction from the rent, which was lower than it would otherwise have been if there had been no Church-rate; so that neither the landowner, nor the landholder, nor the Dissenters, really paid anything at all, or had, on that ground, reason for complaint. But the Dissenters professed a conscientious grievance. By the Common Law the parishioners were bound to maintain the fabric of, and to provide for the decent celebration of Divine Service in, the parish church. But they objected to this legal recognition of a National Church, and though they claimed the right to use its services when and as often as they pleased, they insisted that the burden of supporting the Church should be removed from their shoulders.

The legal rights of the Church, and the power of the Churchwardens to enforce Church-rates, soon became the subject of prolonged litigation, and Braintree in Essex was the field on which the battle was fought.

In 1837, a majority in the vestry of that parish having postponed the rate for twelve months, the

Churchwardens levied the rates on their own authority, and were supported in their action by the Consistory Court of the Diocese. The Court of Queen's Bench, however, decided against the Churchwardens, and the Court of Exchequer concurred in the decision, although Lord Justice Tindal in delivering judgment expressed a doubt whether the Churchwardens and a *minority* of the vestry might not levy the rate at a meeting of the parishioners convened for that purpose. The rate being again refused by the vestry, a monition was issued from the Consistory Court commanding the Churchwardens and parishioners to make a rate, according to law. Another meeting was accordingly called, and the rate refused by the majority; whereupon the Churchwardens and the *minority* voted one. The legality of the rate thus imposed was disputed. The Consistory Court pronounced it illegal; the Court of Arches declared it to be legal. The Court of Queen's Bench respected the vote of the minority, and refused to stop the collection of the rate, and the Court of Exchequer concurred in their judgment. The House of Lords, however, decided in favour of the majority; and the Braintree rate was declared to be illegal. Henceforward the Church, which had the abstract right to Church-rates, had not the power to enforce its rights; Church-rates could not be raised in any parish where a majority of the vestry refused to vote them; and Church-rates assumed the form of a

voluntary rate. The example of Braintree was followed in other parishes until, in 1859, Church-rates were refused in no fewer than 1,525 parishes or districts [u].

In 1841 the first Bill for the abolition of Church-rates was introduced into Parliament by Sir John Easthope, but was disposed of without a division. From 1855 measures for their abolition were passed in the House of Commons, sometimes with larger, sometimes with smaller majorities [x], although in 1859 Sir John Trelawney's Bill for the abolition was defeated by 254 to 171 votes. Again in 1862 the measure was defeated by two, and in 1863 by ten votes. At length it became evident that the question of Church-rates was one of constant agitation: with government it was an open question; between members of Parliament and their constituents it was a cause of continual embarrassment, and to the Church a cause of weakness; so in 1868 Mr. Gladstone was enabled to pass a Bill founded upon a measure which he had advocated in the previous year, viz. the substitution of an entirely voluntary instead of compulsory payment, and the "Compulsory Church-rate Abolition Bill" became law [y].

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[u] Parliam. Returns, Sept. 2, 1859, No. 7.—May's Const. Hist., ii. 432.

[x] In 1855, by 217 to 189; in 1856, by 221 to 178; in 1858, by 266 to 203; in 1860, by 235 to 226.

[y] It was, however, provided that the Act should not affect the

In 1858 Jews were rendered eligible to Parliament [z]. The new law enacted that persons professing the Jewish religion might, in order to sit and vote in Parliament, omit the words of the oath, "upon the true faith of a Christian;" but that no person of the Jewish religion shall be capable of holding the office of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain or Ireland, Lord Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland, or High Commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland [a].

Lenient as the State was to the feelings of Dissenters, that it was totally different with respect to the consciences of the Church was shown by the Divorce Act of 1857. The Church teaches that God has consecrated matrimony; that "in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and His Church;" it binds its Clergy to marry no persons except such as absolutely and unconditionally promise to be man and wife "so long as they both shall live," and "until death them do part."

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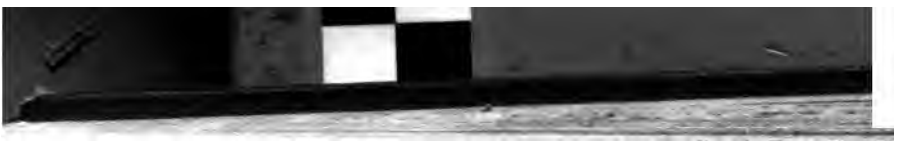
rights of burial, to which Dissenters were entitled, in the churchyard of the mother church.

[z] Acts 21 and 22 Vict. c. 48 and 49.

[a] An Act, however, in 1867 (30 and 31 Vict. c. 75) provides that "Every subject of her Majesty shall, after the passing of this Act, be eligible to hold and enjoy the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, or Lord Keeper, or Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal in Ireland, without reference to his religious belief," &c.



By the Divorce Act a complete revolution was made by the State in the law of marriage. Not only was the jurisdiction transferred by the Act from the Ecclesiastical Courts to a new Court constituted for that purpose; not only does the Act sanction a dissolution of marriage, but it allows the offending party to marry again in the life-time of the husband or wife; and although no Clergyman is compelled by the Act to solemnize the fresh marriage, he cannot refuse his church to any Clergyman (if any such can be found) willing to do so. That is to say, a Clergyman is compelled by the Act to lend his church for a ceremony which is in direct violation of the Canons of the Church[b], and for legalizing adultery; although no one can imagine that the State has power to say, "Thou mayest commit adultery," when the seventh commandment says, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" or to disobey our Lord's own words, "Whosoever marrieth her that is divorced committeth adultery[c]." Previous to the Divorce Act, marriages were dissolved only by private Acts of Parliament, which granted also the liberty of *re-marriage*. From 1799 to 1830 there were only eighty-two of these Bills, and from 1830 to 1856 ninety-nine[d]. From 1858, when the new law came into

[b] Canon 107 of 1604: "In all Sentences of Divorce, bond to be taken for not marrying during each other's life."

[c] St. Matthew v. 32.

[d] *Guardian*, July 29, 1857.

operation, to 1877 inclusive, the number of divorces *made absolute*, as taken from the official "Judicial Statistics," was 2,952; whilst it appears that from Michaelmas, 1879, to Trinity, 1880, about 554 decrees (which shows an immense increase) were made absolute[e]. From 1861 to 1876, according to the Registrar-General's Report for the latter year, 896 persons *remarried*, of whom only thirteen intermarried; so that 883 others were involved in sin by marrying divorced persons by the sanction of the civil law.

We must not pass unnoticed the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. For whilst it seems as a warning of the manner in which the State may some day deal with the Church of England, there is in reality no likeness between the two cases. The Church of Ireland was an exotic, and always a thorn in the side of Ireland, and at last it had so dwindled down as to become the Church of little more than one-sixth of the Irish nation. The Roman Catholic religion was as dear to the people of Ireland as Presbyterianism was to the Scottish nation; and it is a circumstance to be regretted, that at the time of the Union the Irish nation was not left free (as much as possible) to follow that form of the Catholic faith which was most acceptable to them. The chief objection to the Disestablishment of the Irish Church lay in Romanism itself, for nowhere does the Roman

[e] *Times*, August 16, 1880.

Catholic religion present itself in so unlovely and unattractive an aspect, or itself so much require to be reformed, as in Ireland. The average Roman Catholic priest in Ireland is a very different person from the Oxford and Cambridge pervert in England. The greater culture, the advantages of birth, habit, and education give the Anglican Priest in Ireland, both in the eyes of the higher and lower classes of Roman Catholics, an advantage which is denied to their Irish co-religionists, and during the terrible calamities of 1845—1847 the Anglican Clergy in Ireland rose to the occasion as much as the Roman Catholic priests sank below it[f].

Still there can be no question that, from one cause or another, the Irish Establishment always had been, and continued to the end to be, a failure. It is true the Irish Clergy of 1869 were not the original transgressors, but the inheritors of long-existing evils. The original transgressor was the State; the Government, and not the Church, was to blame in Ireland, as it was in England, for the lethargy of the Church in that country. From 1690 to 1840, 310 appointments were made to Irish Bishoprics. Of these 157

[f] So in the recent reign of terror, if the Roman Catholic Priests of Ireland had taught their people that it is not only a sin to murder, but a sin to screen the murderer, and an act of inhuman cruelty to maim harmless cattle, they would not only have done their duty as Christian Clergymen, but also have saved many a miserable and misguided man from the scaffold.

were Englishmen, and only 153 Irishmen; out of ten Archbishops of Armagh, eight, and out of fourteen Archbishops of Dublin, nine, were English; and still worse, those Clergymen to whom the government was indebted, but who were too bad for, or at any rate not up to the mark of, an English Bishopric, were often shunted to Ireland, as if any Bishop was good enough for that country. A letter of Archbishop King[g] states that one Lord Lieutenant disposed of £20,000 a year in benefices and employments to strangers, and not £500 a year to Irishmen; that the Bishop of Waterford not only gave all the valuable Livings in his gift to his brothers and relations, but likewise the Vicar-Generalship and Registrarship of his Diocese; and that not one of the holders resided in Ireland[h].

But after making every allowance for the Irish Clergy of 1869; allowing that it was very disheartening for Clergymen to work amongst people who regarded them as aliens and rejected their services; still the fact remains that no revival had taken place in Ireland, as it had in England; that a spiritual palsy had seized and continued to hold the Irish Establishment; that the Established Religion might be the Church of a small body of landowners; but

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[g] He died 1729.

[h] Mant's Hist. of the Church of Ireland, quoted from Ch. Q. Rev.

the poor and the great majority of the nation were Roman Catholics, and all attempts to change their faith had failed.

In March, 1869, Mr. Gladstone, who had lately become Prime Minister, with a majority of 120 members pledged to support him in the measure, brought forward a Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. The Irish Clergy who, as long as they thought themselves secure, never valued their Convocation, turned to it in their hour of danger as their last hope, and applied for a Royal Licence to summon it, which request Government refused. On January 1, 1871 (although it was stated in the Act of Union that the Church Establishment was to exist for ever), the Irish Protestants ceased to be recognized by the State; the Crown resigned its right of appointing the Irish Bishops, who were deprived of their seats in the House of Lords; the principle adopted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1836, that the intention of those who left property to the Church might be set aside and diverted to some other purpose, was carried out; and the property of the Irish Church, valued at £700,000 a year, or a capital of £16,000,000, was applied, after satisfying the life interests of Incumbents and other necessary charges, to "the relief of unavoidable calamities and suffering, in such manner as Parliament shall hereafter direct."

The advocates of Disestablishment regard the Disestablishment of the Irish Church as the beginning

of the end of the Established Church in England. The Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; Roman Catholic Emancipation; the admission of Jews to Parliament; the opening of the Universities to Dissenters; the abolition of compulsory Church-rates—these changes, they maintain, merely diminished the oppressiveness, without vitally affecting the principle, of the Established Church. But the "Act to put an end to the Establishment in Ireland" extinguished (as they say) the system itself, and was a "formal abandonment by the State of the attempt to care for the religious interests of the people." But, as was said before, between the two cases—the Church in Ireland, which did not number a sixth of the population, and which was deservedly unpopular; and the Church in England, which has its roots deeply imbedded in the earliest history and in the affections of the country, the Church of rich and poor alike, which far outnumbers all the sects of Nonconformity together—there is no parallel.

One other important concession to Dissenters must be mentioned, namely, the "Burial Laws Amendment Act." In the Act which authorized, in 1852, public cemeteries, it was provided that the Burial Board "shall set apart a portion thereof which shall not be consecrated, and may build thereon a suitable chapel for the performance of funeral services[1]." Thus Churchmen and Dissenters were put upon a

[1] 15 and 16 Vict. c. 85.

footing of equality with regard to the public cemeteries. In 1856 it was declared[k] "not necessary to erect any wall or fence between the consecrated and unconsecrated portion of any burial-ground," and that "plain boundary-marks of stone or iron were sufficient to show the respective boundaries." Notwithstanding this, the Dissenters still complained that the Church had an exclusive monopoly of the parish burial-grounds. Their contention against Church-rates had been that it was unfair they should be required to pay towards that in which they had no interest; they now put forward a claim to equality with Churchmen in that towards which they themselves paid nothing. Previously to the passing of the new Act every parishioner had a right to be buried in the parish churchyard, unless he were unbaptized[l], or a suicide, or excommunicate, with the Burial Service of the Church of England; and in no case, where the Service was prescribed, might it be omitted. So that if anybody had reason to complain it was not the Dissenters, but the parish priest, who was compelled by law to bury not only Nonconformist parishioners, but also notoriously evil livers. The "Burial Laws Amendment Act[m]," however, became law; by that Act any relation, or

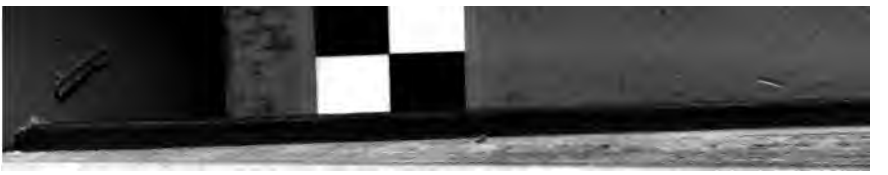
[k] 20 and 21 Vict. c. 81.

[l] Baptism by Dissenters, or laymen, or women, so long as it was performed with water in the name of the Trinity, was recognized.

[m] 43 and 44 Vict. c. 41.

friend, or legal representative of a deceased person may, by giving forty-eight hours' notice in writing to the Incumbent, conduct a funeral in the churchyard of the parish or ecclesiastical district, either with or without a service; or he may invite some person or persons to conduct a Christian and orderly religious service at the grave, the Christian service including "every religious service used by any Church, denomination, or person professing to be Christian." The representative of the deceased person may choose any day for the service (except Sunday, Good Friday, and Christmas Day), and the hour (within certain prescribed limits), provided that no other service has been previously arranged in the church or churchyard for that hour. After the burial he must, on the same or following day, send a certificate, according to a prescribed form, to the Incumbent, who is required to enter it in the Register, stating, not by whom the funeral was performed, but by whom it was certified under the Act.

In the Owston Ferry case, in 1875, it was decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against the Diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Incumbent of the parish, as also against the judgment of the Chancellor of the Diocese, and the Dean of Arches, that a Dissenting Minister may style himself *Reverend*, for that the title is not one of honour and dignity, and does not signify that the person is in Holy Orders.



When by the abolition of the Corporation and Test Acts, Dissenters were made eligible to Parliament, it was asserted that the step involved no danger to the Church. When Church-rates were abolished, it was under the plea that the concession would initiate a period of peace to the Church; it was urged that none but Church people had an interest in its fabrics, and nothing henceforward could disturb the peace of the Church. And however small the number of Dissenters, individually or collectively, may be, it was not unreasonable for the State to feel for tender consciences[n]; if Dissenters had conscientious scruples against Church-rates for the maintenance of our churches and churchyards, it was reasonable that they should be exempted from payment; although their scruples do not seem to have been deep-rooted, but confined chiefly to money, for they did not hesitate to bring their infants to Church to be baptized, nor their daughters to be married, nor their dead to be buried.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church was advocated on the ground that the case was perfectly different from that of the Church of England, and that Churchmen might fairly vote for the Disestablishment of the one without being called upon

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[n] Yet many persons, especially Quakers, have conscientious scruples against war, but they are not on that account exempted from paying taxes towards the army and navy.

to vote for the Disestablishment of the other. But ever since the first concession was made to them, Dissenters have carried on one continuous and successful campaign against the Church; it has always been what Dr. Johnson called the "old coat with a new facing, the old dog in a new doublet;" there has always been the same plausible pretext that no further step was meditated. But from the first it was evident that what Dissenters aimed at was not so much relief from conscientious scruples, as some visionary scheme to attain that which never has been, and probably never will be, realized in the world's history, Equality.

As to equality, there is no reason why Dissenters should clamour for it now more than any other time for the last sixty years, for there is reason to believe that Nonconformity, instead of increasing, is on the decrease in England. The name of the various sects of Dissenters is legion; in England and Wales there are 174 whose places of worship have been certified by the Registrar-General*. There are Protestant Dissenters, and Roman Catholic Dissenters, and Jews, and Infidels, and Atheists. But what connexion has the Protestant with the Catholic? What the Independent with the Prebsyterian? or how would either of them like to be classed with Infidels, or Atheists, or Jews? They love one an-

* See Appendix B.

other no better than they love the Church, the destruction of which is the only point which they have in common.

Individually these sects are utterly insignificant, but as they are pleased to be enumerated together, we will try to form some estimate of their probable numbers. But here a difficulty meets us on the very threshold, for the reason that Nonconformists generally, and political Dissenters in particular, object to their numbers being known. The Census Act of 1880 contains no provision with respect to the religious professions of the people. When Churchmen have desired a religious census, Dissenters have successfully resisted the inquiry, and have preferred an amateur census of their own, based upon the sitting-accommodation of their registered chapels, by which they place half the British people on their side. But such a test is obviously fallacious, for the simple reason that it is one thing to supply seats, another to fill them. Besides this the report of the Registrar-General reveals to us that many buildings owned by companies or private individuals, are registered as Dissenting Chapels; for to swell the amount of sittings provided by the "Free Churches" for the people, such incongruous places are to be found as "Temperance Halls," "Odd Fellows' Halls," "Music Halls," "single rooms in cottages," a "bake house," "a malt-house," even a "railway-arch." The "Great Hall of the Freemasons' Tavern," London, the "Royal

Agricultural Hall" at Islington, the "Royal Amphitheatre," Holborn, also figure in the list.

No wonder the total number of Dissenting places of worship on November 23, 1880, amounted to 20,749; with a little more ingenuity and a corresponding expenditure of half-crowns for registration, it might easily be raised to 25,000, or even 30,000. A proof that the increase in the number of chapels has little to do with the increased number of worshippers is shown by certain statistics relating to the Wesleyans, published in their organ, *The London Quarterly Review.* In the ten years between 1852 and 1862, 709 Wesleyan chapels were built, whilst the net increase in the numbers of the Society was 65,500. But in the ten years between 1862 and 1872 no fewer than 1,214 chapels were built, whilst the net increase of members amounted only to 21,977, so that the smaller the increase of membership the greater was the number of chapels built. It is therefore clearly absurd to count the number of sittings as if it necessitated a corresponding number of members. Such are the unworthy pretexts by which political Nonconformists, afraid of having a religious census taken, try to blind the eyes of the people, and to make them think that Dissent is increasing instead of decreasing. Nonconformist chapels are from their very nature things of a day; here to-day, gone to-morrow. They depend on voluntary support, and when that fails they fail also.

The last religious census, by direction of the Registrar-General, but unauthorized by government and therefore possessing small importance, was taken in 1851, when it was estimated that the number of Church people amounted to 9,600,000, that of the Dissenters to 8,640,000; a proportion of 52 per cent. of Church people, and 48 per cent, of Dissenters. But to account for this improbable, not to say fabulous, proportion, it has been with reason surmised that a friendly interchange of dissenting pulpits on the census Sunday may have been supplemented by the exchange of congregations which were thus counted twice or perhaps three times over. But the gentleman to whom the task of taking the census was assigned was evidently under a delusion. According to him the Church revival, which everybody admits, has never taken place at all. He asserts that in 1801, when the population of the country was 8,892,536, the Church had 4,289,883 sittings, and all the sects together only 881,240; but that in 1851, when the increase of population had been 9,035,073, the Church added only 1,028,032 sittings for its members, whilst the Dissenters added 4,013,408 for theirs!

In order, therefore, to ascertain the comparative strength of Church and Dissent we must have recourse to such official returns as state the numbers belonging to the various religious bodies in England. Taking, therefore, these official returns we find that, out of every 100 people,—

School returns give	72	Churchmen,	28	Dissenters.	
Cemetery	„	70	„	30	„
Marriages	„	75	„	25	„
Army	„	63	„	37[p]	„
Navy	„	75	„	25	„
Workhouse	„	79	„	21	„

The whole population of England and Wales in 1878 (a few years after these returns were made) was 24,854,397; the Church population was 17,995,159, the Nonconformist population, 6,859,238, so that according to these reports the members of the Church of England were 72 per cent. of the population of England.

In a speech made at Liverpool at a meeting of the National Society in 1872, the Right Hon. Mr. Hubbard said: "I examined all the sources of information open to me, such as the returns of burials in consecrated and unconsecrated portions of public cemeteries, the returns of marriages by the Church and the Registrar, and from these and other returns bearing on the subject I found the proportion of Dissenters of all kinds vary from 20 to 28 per cent. But a publication entitled, I think, 'Denominational Statistics,' by E. G. Ravenstein, has recently fallen into my hands, the conclusion of the author being, that the proportion of Dissenters of all kinds, Jews,

[p] Of which 37 no fewer than 24 are Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholics, and Secularists, amounts to 22 per cent. of the population of England and Wales."

The Church has done all in its power to obtain as accurate an estimate as circumstances will permit. If Nonconformists are not satisfied with the result of our calculations, founded as they are on official returns, nothing can be easier for them than to withdraw their opposition to a religious census. Till then we must be content to estimate the Church population at a proportion of from two-thirds to three-fourths, and the 174 sects of Dissenters taken altogether at a proportion of from one-fourth to one-third of the whole population. One thing, however, is certain from the above statistics, either that Nonconformists are in this proportion to Churchmen, or that a large proportion of Protestant dissenters preferred to be married by Church of England Clergymen, and with the Church's Service; and that though Churchmen and dissenters had each in the public cemeteries their separate chapels and separate burial-grounds, the latter *preferred* to be buried in consecrated ground, with the rites of the Church. But what in that case becomes of the conscientious grievance? does it not show that it is infinitesimal?

Nonconformity, now that it has gained all that it can reasonably want, has grown political, and so, dangerous not only to the Church but also to the State; although at present its attacks are confined to the Church. There is no ground for believ-

ing that the dissenters as a body desire to destroy the Church. "For the State to take away," said a well-known Nonconformist[1], "what it never gave, would be *downright robbery;* may our country never be dishonoured by it!" Dissenters know well that the parish churches will welcome them whenever they are ready to return; that meanwhile the parish Clergyman is ready to administer to their wants; that district-visitors attend to them equally with Church people; whilst they are not called upon to pay a penny for the Church. All this would vanish with Disestablishment. It is not religious dissenters, but a small minority of political dissenters, who make up in sound what they need in numbers, who are opposed to the Established religion.

On April 14, 1841, the first number of the "Nonconformist" appeared, and Mr. Miall, who had been ordained an Independent Minister in 1831, was appointed its editor. Whilst in charge of an Independent chapel at Leicester, in 1834, his antipathy to established Churches was aroused by the imprisonment of one of his congregation, Mr. Baines, in Leicester gaol, for refusing to pay Church-rates; and the primary object of the "Nonconformist" was to show, as the editor stated, that a National Establishment of Religion was wrong in its constitution—philoso-

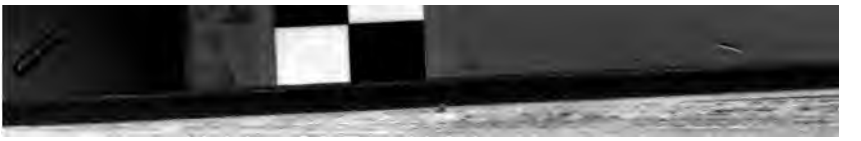
[1] Dr. Pye Smith.

phically, politically, and religiously. In 1844 the "Anti-State Church Association" was formed, and Mr. Miall was appoined one of the Secretaries. In 1849 this Society exchanged its warlike name for the better-sounding but more misleading title of "The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control." If the Society had chosen the name in the English language which expresses the very thing it is not, it would have assumed the name of a Liberation Society. If a man eases another of some weight which he cannot support, he may be rightly designated a Liberationist; but if he puts his hand into your pocket, and takes your purse, he is generally designated by a less euphonious title. "What am I to say?" asks the Bishop of Durham, "of that word 'Liberation?' When I strike off a man's fetters, when I open his prison doors, when I disencumber him from his debts, I can understand how I can speak of liberating him; but when I strip him of his clothes, when I rob him of his purse or his watch, when I turn him naked into the streets—as naked as when he came into the world—why then I should consider that it was a little abuse of terms to speak of liberation." And again: "I like to hear a spade called a spade, and I confess I should feel much more respect for this movement if it bore some other name. If a man said to me, 'I hate the Church of England; I want to weaken it; I want to do it all the injury I can;

I want to compass its destruction,' why, I might not agree with him; but at all events I should respect his frankness. But if he speaks of liberating me when I don't feel my bondage, and at the same time treats me as I have described, I confess I have a little difficulty in understanding what he means."

In 1852 Mr. Miall was elected M.P. for Rochdale, and thenceforward we find him advocating the cause of the Liberationists within, and also outside the walls of Parliament, by means of his organ, the "Nonconformist." In 1856 he brought forward a Resolution in Parliament in favour of the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church, and for the repeal of all grants made to religious bodies, but the motion was defeated by 163 to 93 votes.

Under the hostile attitude assumed by the Liberationists, the Church could no longer remain inactive; so in 1860 "The Church Defence Institution" was founded by Mr. Henry Hoare. The chief objects of the Institution are, to resist all attempts to destroy or weaken the union between Church and State, and to assist in promoting such measures of Church Reform as would prove the most effective means of Church defence. In promoting these objects, care is to be taken to combine Churchmen of every shade of political and religious opinion in the maintenance and support of the Established Church, and its rights and privileges in relation to the State;



and generally to encourage the co-operation of Clergy and Laity in promoting measures conducive to the welfare of the Church. And in order to promote combined action amongst all schools of thought in the Church, one of its rules is that "no question touching doctrine shall be entertained at any meeting."

But to return to Mr. Miall. In 1862, the Bicentenary of St. Bartholomew's Day, he was presented with a sum of £5,000 for his long-continued labours in the cause of the so-called Liberation. In 1871 he brought forward in Parliament a motion for the Disestablishment of the Church of England, but was defeated by 374 to 89 votes. Before his death he was presented with a sum of ten thousand guineas, "in recognition of his public services in the "Nonconformist" Newspaper, and as a representative in Parliament of the principle of Religious Equality."

Now, there is one difficulty in dealing with these Liberationists, viz. that an argument must have legs to stand on before you can proceed to knock it down; but their statements are void of any foundation. They presume upon the ignorance of Church people; they first build up a theory of their own, and then they invent a history perfectly regardless of, and opposed to, facts, to fit in with their theory; then they tell people who cannot be expected to know better, that the State established and endowed the Church, and that therefore what

the State has given it has a right to take back; they tell the poor that the Church of England is a standing act of injustice and expense, and that they would be benefited by its disestablishment. It is necessary, therefore, to meet fiction by fact, false history by true history. We propose, therefore, to give, in the two concluding chapters of this work, first such a plain outline of the early history of the English Church as will show that the State *could* not have established nor endowed the Church; that the Reformation (as the word *reformation* signifies) *reformed* the old Church, but did not create a new one: and then we will devote the last chapter to the "Case for Disestablishment." We can adduce no facts except such as are familiar to every student of Church history, but it is not the well-informed, but the ignorant, who would pull down the Church, those to whom a little knowledge is such a dangerous thing. "I do not believe," says the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that the mass of the people are aware of the very simplest facts. I am sure that we quite under-estimate the effect that Church history would have upon the minds of those who do not like the Church. Let us not put forth attacks .... but let us do our very utmost to put forth facts among the people. I would say, let us, in the first place, put forth the facts of Church History. We have other Societies diffusing the Scriptures and diffusing teaching upon the doctrines of the Church. It is our business, I

think, to put out in popular forms, and with perfect truth and with perfect correctness, as clearly and distinctly as we can ... true statements on the subject of Church History[r]."

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[r] Speech at Annual Meeting of the Church Defence Institution, 1883.

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIA ANGLICANA.

THE founder of the English Church was Augustine, sent hither by Pope Gregory the Great in 597. But there was a branch of the Catholic Church in these Islands several centuries before Augustine landed at Canterbury, and long before our Saxon forefathers conquered the Island. As to the date when Christianity was first introduced into Britain, we have no means of deciding, although many suppose it was not long after the time of the Apostles. At any rate we know for certain that British Bishops were present at the early councils of the Church[a]; we read of British martyrs, St. Alban and others, of British Saints, and we are told that towards the close of the fifth century there were more Bishops in the country than there are now.

But in the middle of the fifth century the Saxons, and Angles, and other heathen nations from the North of Europe, conquered Britain, and persecuted and drove out the British Church, the remnants of

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[a] At the Council of Arles, A.D. 314; probably at that of Nice, 325; of Sardica, 347; of Rimini, 359.

which were forced to take refuge in the mountainous districts of Wales, Strathclyde, and Cornwall, where they remained in sullen isolation, and took no trouble to convert their Saxon conquerors. Wherever the conquerors went, the vengeance they took was terrible; whole villages and towns were consigned to the flames, and a promiscuous slaughter of the inhabitants ensued. Britain ceased to be Britain, and became England. Christianity was extirpated, the laws and the language of the people were changed, and as if to recall to them the daily remembrance of their slavery, the very days of the week took the names of the deities which had dethroned Christ.

These German conquerors of England, so long as they continued at war with Britain, observed amongst themselves a union of councils and interests, but no sooner were they victorious than they turned their arms against each other. Instead of there being one united England, the country became broken up into at least seven kingdoms, commonly known as the Saxon Heptarchy. There were nine, if not ten, independent states; but for convenience' sake we will use the word by which they are commonly known, which included the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. These kingdoms turned their arms against each other, with the result that first one and then another gained the supremacy; the wars between two English nations

were carried on with all the ruthlessness of a war between strangers; and if ransom saved from death the noble captive, slavery alone saved the captive of meaner rank.

It was one of these wars which opens to us an interesting tale in English history. There had been war between the Angles of Deira, under their King, Ella, and the Angles of Bernicia, under their King, Ethelric[b]. A group of slaves taken in this war were one day exposed for sale in the market-place at Rome. Their white bodies, their fair faces and golden hair, attracted the attention of a Roman Deacon who was passing by[c]. He was told by the slave-owner who had brought them there, that they were English, or, as the Latin form would be, Angles. The resemblance between the words Angles and Angels at once struck him. Whence did they come? From Deira. Again the word suggested that they were snatched from "the wrath (*de irâ*) of God." Who was their king? "Ella," replied the merchant. Again the resemblance to *Alleluia* seemed of good omen.

This scene in the market-place at Rome took

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[b] These were two kingdoms at first temporarily united, and afterwards, in 651, permanently so, in the kingdom of Northumbria.

[c] Such was the position of Gregory at the time; although Abbot of the religious house which he had founded on the Cælian, he was only a Deacon.

place between A.D. 586 and 588[d]. Only three or four years afterwards, the Deacon himself became Pope or Bishop of Rome, under the title of Gregory I., and found himself in a position to carry out a scheme for bringing back Britain to the faith; so he sent off a party of about forty monks, with Augustine, the Prior of his own monastery at Rome, at their head, into England.

When Augustine arrived, the work of converting the country had to be begun afresh. The Missionaries landed in the Isle of Thanet. The time and place were providential. Ethelbert, King of Kent, at that time Bretwalda, or the most powerful King in the Heptarchy, had married a Christian Princess, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris. The Teutonic tribes settled in Gaul had already been Christianized, and Kent, from its proximity to the Continent, was of all the kingdoms most favourably placed for the reception of the faith. Ethelbert, being no doubt influenced by the Queen, received the missionaries kindly; he allowed them to preach, provided for their maintenance, and gave them a temporary abode at Durovernum (Canterbury). They took the church of St. Martin, an old British church which Queen Bertha had restored, for their services, and before

[d] In the former year Gregory returned to Rome from Constantinople, whither he had been sent as Envoy, and in 588 King Ella died.

long the King himself was baptized, his people soon afterwards following his example. Augustine was consecrated as a Bishop by Vergilius, Bishop of Arles, and other Frankish Bishops, and made Canterbury, the capital of Kent, the seat of his Archbishopric. The little church of St. Martin's soon became too small for the increasing converts, so Augustine re-consecrated another British church which stood on the spot where now stands Canterbury Cathedral. He also, on the ruins of another British church which he re-dedicated, laid the foundation of the Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, which took later the name of St. Augustine.

Sebert, King of Essex, was the son of Ethelbert's sister, Ricula; he too was soon persuaded to embrace the Faith, and Mellitus was appointed Bishop of London, the capital of his kingdom. In the kingdom of Kent Augustine was also enabled to create the See of Rochester; there Ethelbert built a church, which Augustine, in remembrance of his Abbey at Rome, dedicated to St. Andrew, and the new See was entrusted to Justus as Bishop.

Other Kings of the Heptarchy followed the example of Ethelbert. Thus the Kings became the first converts, and to their Courts the Missionaries attached themselves; the King built a church, which became the Cathedral of the Diocese, and the Royal Chaplain became the Bishop, his Diocese being commensurate with the kingdom. The Bishop's House,

or *Monasterium*, contained a number of priests and monks, who went out to evangelize the neighbouring districts. Besides the cathedral there were few or no churches, crosses being set up in various parts of the estates of the Christian nobles, at the foot of which the missionaries preached, and said Mass.

In the middle of the seventh century it appeared as though the divisions which existed in the country would be reproduced in the Church, and that there would be as many Churches, distinct in ritual and tradition, as there were kingdoms in the Heptarchy. But the Primacy of Theodore (669—693) marks the commencement of the corporate life of the Church of England, and of an important era in the history of the State no less than of the Church. Till his time the Church of England had been little more than a collection of unconnected mission-stations, monastic in arrangement and independent in government: there were no parish churches, no resident Clergy. It was he that infused order into the Church: under him were held those national Synods of the Church which first suggested the idea of a national Parliament, and those canons were passed which were the origin of our Statute Law.

Theodore, like Saul, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, came to England with a clear and distinct aim—the organization of the English Dioceses, and grouping them round the See of Canterbury. As yet no Archbishop had crossed the boundary of Kent, and to the

rest of England the Primate of Canterbury must have seemed a mere provincial Prelate like the other Bishops. Theodore spent in journeying through the island the three years which followed his arrival. Wherever he went, he enlisted reverence and obedience; his very presence brought about a recognition of his Primacy over the whole nation; so that his position soon became raised into a national one[e]. Under him the number of Bishops was increased from seven (the number of the Heptarchy) to seventeen; and finding that the missionary bodies living in communities were ill-suited to the growing exigencies of the Church, he appointed the regular and secular Clergy to definite spheres of work. He induced the nobles and other great landowners to build churches on their estates, and thus to secure the benefit of a resident Clergyman, and more frequent services and communions, for their families, their domestics, and the dependents who cultivated their estates, than could be obtained from the occasional visits of itinerant Clergymen. Thus parishes were constituted, the parishes being commensurate with the estates of the landowners.

In the autumn of 673 this great Prelate completed his work by calling together the Bishops and Clergy to a Synod at Hertford. The canons of this Synod

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[e] "Is primus erat in Archiepiscopis cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret."—Bede, iv. 2.

added a further stage to the work of settlement, for whereas the Bishops had hitherto wandered freely over the face of the whole nation, each Bishop was thenceforward restricted to the limits of his own diocese. A still more important canon enacted that there should be a series of such Synods, and that the Bishops should meet each year at the close of July at a spot which bore the name of Cloveshoo[f]. It is as being the first of these assemblies that the Synod of Hertford is important, not only in the ecclesiastical but in the civil history of the country. Theodore (although unconsciously) was laying the foundation and paving the way for a great national work. The Synods to which its canons gave birth exerted a powerful influence on the nation at large. The Bishops met, not as Northumbrian, nor Mercian, nor Saxon Bishops, but as Bishops of a *national* Church. The Synods which Theodore convened as religious representatives of the whole English nation led the way for the national *Parliament;* whilst the canons which those Synods enacted pointed the path to a national system of law. The Church Synods were the first of our national gatherings for general legislation; it was not till a much later period that the wise men of Wessex, or Northumbria, or Mercia,

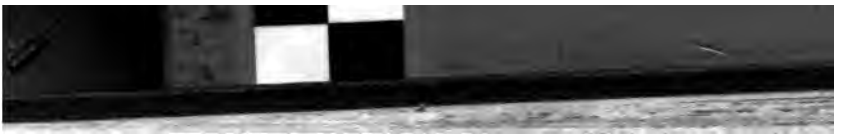
[f] For the various localities to which this name has been assigned see Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, ii p. 122.

learnt to come together to the national Witenagemot [g].

At the time of Theodore's death the hope of a political union of the nation was faint and dim, and it seemed impossible that unity could come. For the next hundred years it was the Church alone which expressed a national consciousness; and the Church exercised an ever-deepening influence on English feeling. But in 802 Egbert became King of Wessex; under him the long severance of people from people at length broke down, and the whole English race in Britain was for the first time knit together under a single King. Thus it will be seen that whilst the Church of England existed in A.D. 597, the Kingdom of England did not exist till the Kingdoms of the Heptarchy were united under Egbert—A.D. 829. The first English Parliament was that of Merton in 1236—the first regular Parliament is usually dated at 1295—that is to say, the first regular Parliament sat nearly seven hundred years after the English Church was founded.

It is not, therefore, possible that the State could have established the Church; it would be nearer the truth to say that the Church established the State; that there is a Church-State rather than a State-Church in England. And as it is not possible that the State could have established the Church, so

[g] Green's Making of England, p. 333.



history also shows that the State did not endow it. As the Church is the oldest institution, so is the property of the Church the oldest form of property in the country. The fallacy as to the Church having been endowed by the State rests on the same groundless assumptions as to its establishment by the State. Because pious kings in past ages built and endowed churches, not in their capacity as kings, but as great landowners, in their character as members of the Church acting under a deep sense of responsibility, the idea prevails with some people that the Crown, or the State, endowed the Church.

That Kings, acting as private individuals, and Nobles of England, founded the Church is plainly stated in the Statute of Provisors[h], which declared that "the Holy Church of England was founded" by the King's "progenitors, and the *Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of the Realm, and their ancestors.*" The same proof as to its endowment is given in the Statute for the Restraint of Appeals[i], made against the claims of Rome: "The King's most noble Progenitors and the *antecessors of the Nobles* of this Realm *have sufficiently endowed the said Church.*" Such language, coupling the Earls and Nobles of the Realm with the Kings of England, could not have

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[h] 25 Edward III. st. VI. (A.D. 1350).
[i] 24 Henry VIII. c. 12 (A.D. 1532).

been used if it was meant to imply that the State or Crown had endowed the Church.

If, therefore, the property of the Church was given to it, not by the State, but by individual donors, it cannot be called *national property*, except in the sense that all property within the nation is national property. And there is sufficient reason to prove that it could not have been intended for any other religious community than the Church of England. It must be remembered that when the Church of England was first endowed there was only one Church in the land, and that was that branch of the Catholic Church which exists in the present day, and that it was taught and believed that except through that Church there was no salvation[k]. Is it, therefore, reasonable to suppose that pious donors would have given their property for the endowment of any religion opposed to the religion of the Catholic Church, which they held to be the only true one[l]? Is it possible that they could have adopted a course which they believed in their hearts would be ruinous

[k] Cf. St. Cyprian, Ep. iv.: "Nemini salus nisi in Ecclesiâ esse potest." St. Irenæus Adversus Hæreses: "Spiritûs Sancti non sunt qui non concurrunt ad Ecclesiam, sed semet ipsos fraudant a vitâ." St. Augustin, Serm. cxxv. "Unica est Ecclesia . . . ab unitate ergo noli recedere, si non vis esse immunis a salute."

[l] Cf. the words of the Litany: "From all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; Good Lord, deliver us."

to the salvation not only of those who received their gifts, but also of themselves, who threw such a stumbling-block into the way of others?

But the Church of England, as a single body, has no property at all; there is no one corporation known to the Civil Law as the Church of England. The Church, as a single legal entity, has even no likeness to those corporations which exist around us. It has no formal charter or common seal; it cannot sue or be sued; it cannot acquire or dispose of property. If a testator were to bequeath a legacy in general terms to "the Church of England," the legacy would either fail from vagueness, or would have to be made matter of litigation, in order that a court of law might decide on the specific application, on the principle of *cy près*, to this or that particular and local purpose in connexion with the Church of England.

Church property was originally given, not to one corporation, but to numerous corporations. It was given to the Church of Canterbury, or the Church of York, to the Dean of some particular Cathedral, or to this or that particular parish; the charters of different churches and the deeds of the donors, whether kings, or nobles, or other landowners, specifying in each case the person or the place intended. These local bodies are known as *corporations*, some of which are designated as corporations *aggregate*, such as the Chapter of a Cathedral; others as corporations *sole*,

where lands or money were left to a single person, as a Bishop, or a Dean, or a Rector, or a Vicar.

We must draw attention to a mistake which exists in the present day as to the payment of tithes. Before there were any parishes, or any endowments, it was the custom of the Church to collect offerings from its members for the purposes of each diocese, which were brought into a common fund to be distributed by the Bishop. But one chief mode of providing for the Clergy was by tithe, which goes so far back in the history of the Church of England that it is impossible with any certainty to trace its origin. In very early ages of the Christian Church the practice, derived from the Jews (although not enforced by any laws), prevailed of Christians devoting the tithe, or tenth part of their earnings, to religious purposes, thus reserving the other nine parts to themselves. This practice Augustine probably brought into England [m]. The Christian obligation to pay tithes became a Church Law in this country in the eighth century; the first mention of them being found in the "Excerptions" of Egbert, where, however, they are spoken of as being already in existence: "That tithes were paid in England

[m] In the Laws of Edward the Confessor the obligation to pay tithes is said to have been introduced by Augustine: "Possibly," says Blackstone, on the Rights of Things, "tithes were contemporary with the planting of Christianity among the Saxons by St. Augustine about the end of the sixth century."

according to the ancient usage and decrees of the Church appears from the canons of Egbert, Archbishop of York, about A.D. 750, and from an epistle of Boniface, Archbishop of Maintz, which he wrote to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the same time [n]. Soon afterwards the payment was made imperative by the civil power [o]; (but as to the Donation of Ethelwulf, all copies of it differ, and the best authorities are agreed that the charter is spurious [p]). "In A.D. 787 tithe was made imperative in England by the Legatine Councils, which, being attended and confirmed by kings and ealdormen, had the authority of Witenagemots [q]." "The first mention I have met with of tithes in an English law is a constitutional decree, made in a Synod held A.D. 786, wherein the payment of tithes is strongly enjoined." "The most authentic mention of them is in the laws agreed upon between King Guthrum, the Dane, and Alfred, and his son, Edward the Elder, successive Kings of

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[n] Sir R. Phillimore, Tithes and Rent Charges.

[o] This does not show that tithes were imposed as a "tax," but only shows the obligation of a payment which was formerly voluntary. The famous Donation of Ethelwulf, assigned to the year 885, by which the King is said to have booked the tenth of land over all his kingdom to be given to the Church, had nothing to do with tithe.—Stubbs' Const. Hist., i. 228.

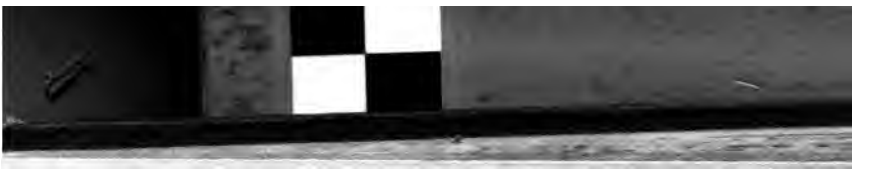
[p] See Inett, Orig. Anglic., i. 342.

[q] Stubbs' Const. Hist., i. 228. "Præcipimus ut omnes studeant de omnibus quæ possident decimas dare, quia speciale Domini Dei est."—Can. 17.

England, about A.D. 906. By the laws of Athelstan, we find the payment of tithes not only enjoined, but a penalty added upon non-observance, about A.D. 930[r]."

The Clergy preached the payment of tithes as a duty; but the obligation and the nature of the gifts was at first of such a voluntary character, that people often exercised their right of paying them where and to whom they liked, and nothing was more common than for the tithe-payer to pay his tithe to this or that religious house. Theodore, when he induced the landlords to build churches on their estates, induced them also to build houses for the priests, and to endow the parishes which were commensurate with their estates with an inalienable maintenance for succeeding Clergymen. In this manner tithes, which were before given promiscuously, were appropriated by landlords to their own parish churches. The act was at first voluntary on their parts, but when once made, the charge was inalienable, so that the estate descended to their successors subject to this charge; and the payment of tithes became so general a practice, that the common law of England presumed them to be payable when the contrary did not appear. This was the origin of *Lay-patronage;* the founder of the church and the endower of the parish might (as he usually did) reserve to him-

[r] Blackstone's Rights of Things.



self and his successors the right of appointing the parish Clergyman; or he might bestow the right on some other layman or on the Bishop; or again, he might dispose of the property irrespectively of the tithe-payer, provided the tithe was paid into ecclesiastical hands[s]. If the landlord let the land, the tenant paid the tithe direct to the Clergyman, instead of paying it first to the landlord to be paid by him; the tenant paying one-tenth less to the landlord than he would otherwise have paid if the land had not been subject to the tithe.

Thus arose four kinds of Church property: (1) the cathedral or church, and the consecrated enclosure which served as a burial-ground for the parishioners; (2) the parsonage-house; (3) the glebe; (4) the tithe; these to the present day remain the principal endowments of the Church, and property has descended from heir to heir subject to the same tithe as was payable by the immediate successors of the founder[t]. In this manner arose the disproportion in the extent of parishes, and in the value of Livings. Sometimes the Clergyman of a small parish received a large income, because it was endowed by a wealthy

[s] Freeman's Norman Conquest, v. 503.

[t] By the decrees of several Councils, Bishops were prohibited from consecrating a church until an endowment had been secured by deed or charter. Such Councils were those of Epaone in Vienne, A.D. 517; Orleans, A.D. 541; Braga, A.D. 572; Toledo, A.D. 633.

landlord; sometimes the Clergyman of a large town-parish received a small income, because it was endowed by a poorer patron. Sometimes a parish was large, sometimes small, in extent: it depended upon the estate of the landlord. To some Livings the Crown appointed, to others Bishops, to others trustees, private individuals to others. Every time a patron in the present day exercises his right of appointing to a benefice, a proof is given that he inherited the right either from his ancestors who had endowed the parish, or that he obtained it from those who by inheritance, or purchase, or gift, had so acquired it. The inequalities in the size of parishes, the disproportionate value of benefices, and the right of patronage, are all the very opposite to what would have existed if the State had endowed the Church, and parcelled it out into parishes.

The parish-system extended gradually, until, in the survey known as Domesday Book (A.D. 1083), the number of churches and chapels is placed at 1,700, a number evidently under the mark, as we have evidence, from other sources, of churches being in existence which Domesday Book does not notice. About A.D. 1200 the parish-system became complete. By that time, now nearly seven hundred years ago, there is every reason to believe that the whole kingdom of England had become divided into parishes, each parish with its own church, and each church with its own endowment.

But again it is alleged that the Church was Roman Catholic before the Reformation, and that it is Protestant since[u]; that at the Reformation the State took all the cathedrals, churches, parsonages, glebes, tithes, and other endowments, from the Roman Catholics, and gave them to a new Protestant Church. For that pretence there is no foundation in law or in fact[x]. There never was a Roman Church in England; the same Church, reformed no doubt, but in other respects identically the same, which Augustine founded in A.D. 597, exists now. It must not be supposed that because Gregory was Pope (a word which meant Father) of Rome, that the religion of Rome was then what people now-a-days call Popery. The religion of the Church of England much more resembles the religious system of Gregory than does modern Romanism; and not one of the doctrines or practices which in the present day differentiate the Churches of England and of Rome, is known to have been approved of by him. As to the title of "Œcumenical" or "Universal" Bishop, as claimed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory denounced it as "anti-Christian" and "blasphemous;" although there is little doubt that Gregory regarded the Church of Rome as the Head[y], and himself as the Supreme

[u] For the meaning of this word *Protestant*, see vol. i. p. 47; and vol. ii. p. 113.

[x] Lord Selborne, p. 16.

[y] "Quæ omnium Ecclesiarum caput est."

Ordinary, of Christendom. And in this sense the spiritual authority of Rome was always acknowledged in England before and since the Reformation: the *Pope's Primacy* was recognized, but what England from first to last refused him was *Supremacy*. The Anglican Church from its earliest days regarded Rome as the Metropolis of Christendom, and felt itself bound to it by terms of filial gratitude; it allowed its Archbishop to receive the Pall from the Pope, as a mark of honour, but not as a badge of servitude[1], but it always preserved its national independence. We need only refer to two instances in proof of this: Wilfrid, Bishop of York, having been deprived of his See by Archbishop Theodore, Pope Agatho, A.D. 680, annulled the sentence; Wilfrid returned to England, but it was only to find the Pope's decision set at nought, and himself to be imprisoned for nine months, and afterwards banished the kingdom[2].

The second instance is that of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury. An earl whom Dunstan had excommunicated for an incestuous marriage appealed, A.D. 956, to Rome; the Pope ordered the Archbishop to grant him absolution, but Dunstan refused to take any notice of the Pope's interference till the sin was

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[1] The Pallium or Pall was part of an Archbishop's dress.

[2] On a second occasion the Pope's rescript in favour of Wilfrid was disregarded by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in England.

abandoned[b]. The sequel of the story shows how much better a spiritual guide Dunstan was than the Pope. Seeing how little the Archbishop regarded the Pope's order, the nobleman repented; he abandoned his unlawful marriage, assumed the habit of a penitent, and going barefooted to the Archbishop, asked, and then Dunstan granted, absolution.

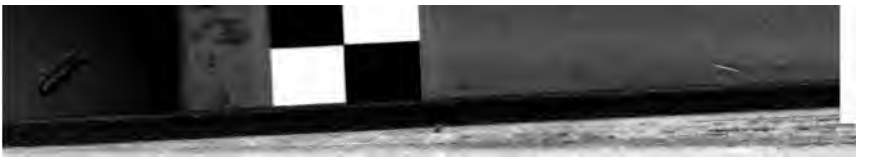
The obligations which the English Church owed to Rome may easily be overrated. Whilst we acknowledge a large debt of gratitude to Augustine, it must be confessed that he was not a successful missionary; his mission was only one episode in a work which extended over 180 years; and by far the largest part of England was reclaimed by other hands, especially by missionaries of British and Irish origin, who professed no subjection to the See of Rome. "Truth requires us to state," said the late Bishop of Lincoln, "that St. Augustine from Italy ought not to be called the Apostle of England, much less the Apostle of Scotland, but that the title ought to be given to St. Columba and his followers from Iona." Kent was converted to Christianity A.D. 597; Sussex, the last of the kingdoms, was not converted till A.D. 681. Only two kingdoms, Kent and Essex (these also for

[b] "Equidem cum illum de quo agitur, sui delicti pœnitentiam gerere videro, præceptis domini Papæ libere parebo. Sed ut ipse in peccato suo jaceat, et immunis ab ecclesiasticâ disciplinâ nobis insultet, et exinde gaudeat, nolit Deus." This is such an evident disregard of the Pope, that Cardinal Baronius is at a loss how to explain it.

a time to relapse into paganism), were reached by Augustine's teaching; each of the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy owed its evangelization to some other source, and especially to the British missionaries.

The Norman Conquest, however, brought the English Church into much closer connexion with Rome. Nowhere was the Church so independent as in England, nowhere more submissive to the Pope than in Normandy; and the Normans came to the conquest of England with the Pope's blessing. A great revolution in the English Church was effected by the Conquest; William I. displaced the native Bishops, and appointed Normans in their stead, and the whole religious life of the country was changed. The ecclesiastical was to a great extent separated from the civil power, and placed in subordination to the See of Rome. But William was also a strong asserter of the Royal Supremacy, and regarded himself as the supreme head of the country in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters. William and Pope Gregory VII., two of the most powerful rulers of the middle ages, the one in the State, the other in the Church, were brought face to face; but William, A.D. 1076, stoutly refused to admit the haughty pretensions of Hildebrand, when he required William to do homage for the Crown of England[c]. In asserting his

[c] "Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio."



supremacy William declared: (1) That no Legate or Papal Bull should be received in England; (2) That no enactment of an Ecclesiastical Council should become law until confirmed by the King; (3) That the King's barons and officers should not be excommunicated without the King's leave.

Still, under William the English Church was brought into nearer connexion and dependence on Rome, and this dependence, owing to the vices and oppression of the Kings, went on increasing, advancing with rapid strides for one hundred and fifty years, until it reached its climax under John. A constant struggle went on between Church and State. The Kings seized on the property of the Church, or kept the Sees vacant[d], letting the temporalities out to the highest speculators, or selling the endowments. What could the Church do? Persecuted by the State, it sought protection from another quarter: the Church of Rome[e] had now become powerful, so it put itself under the protection of Rome. Ultimately it found that it had bought its assistance at too high a price, a price which increased with usurious interest, until it brought the English Church into subjection

[d] William Rufus kept the See of Canterbury vacant for four years, and filled it up only when he thought he was at the point of death; Henry I. kept it vacant for five years.

[e] Gregory the Great compared the Church in his time to "an old and violently-shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides, its timbers rotten, shaken by daily storms."—Ep. i. 44.

to the Church of Rome; it found that it had freed itself from a temporal, only to be subjected to a worse kind of tyranny, that of an ecclesiastical despot. The Pope was willing to gain for himself the credit of supporting the oppressed party, and to frighten the strong into submission by means of his spiritual thunders; when once this was done, and the Crown was fairly humbled to the dust, the next step was towards the subjection of the Church; thus the Papal power extended itself over both Church and State by playing off one against the other, and so making both its subjects.

In the reign of John, a man who set all laws, human and divine, at defiance, the Papal Chair was occupied by Innocent III. That Pope, by an arbitrary act, appointed Stephen Langton, an Englishman, as Archbishop of Canterbury; an appointment excellent in itself, but for more reasons than one obnoxious to the King. Innocent was unwittingly acting in the cause of constitutional liberty, and little thought that in Langton he was consecrating the first of a long line of patriotic Churchmen, who were to bridle the pride and eventually destroy the authority of the Popes in England. John received the usurpation with defiance, and swore that he would rather die than suffer such an infringement of his prerogative. But John was a cruel and profligate tyrant, and had the nation against him; which accounts for the power which the Pope was able to exert over England.

The Pope first put the kingdom under an interdict, and then excommunicated and proceeded (in 1212) to depose the King. But the alliance between Rome and liberty soon proved fallacious ; the Pope having sufficiently humbled the King, soon showed himself the oppressor of the liberties of the nation. John, in his fit of despair, clutched at the assistance of the Pope, as on a previous occasion he thought of throwing himself upon the protection of Islam[f]. In order to regain his power over the nation, he surrendered his kingdom to the Pope, receiving it back as a fief of the Holy See, subject to the annual tribute of one thousand marks.

Never did the Church exert itself more nobly for the liberties of the nation than she did in this emergency. Indignant though the Barons were at the betrayal of the ancient customs of the realm, yet they acted separately in their individual interests. It was Langton, the Archbishop, who now taught them to act together as an *Order of the Realm* for a definite object. Under his guidance the nation, for the first time in its history—Clergy, Barons, and Commoners —became united in a common effort against King and Pope. The Pope threw his ægis over the tyrant, but John had not time to profit by his protection. He met his Barons at Runnymede, and there he

[f] Matthew Paris tells us that at one time, rather than submit to the Pope, John threatened to turn Mohamedan, and to seek the alliance of a Mohamedan Prince.

sealed (although he never meant to keep his oath, from which he thought his over-lord would absolve him), on June 15, 1215, Magna Charta, the first Article of which declared, as against Pope and King, that "the Church of England (*Ecclesia Anglicana*) shall be free, and have her rights entire, and her liberties uninjured."

After John's submission the Popes thought they might deal with England as they liked. The alliance between King and Pope, begun by John's submission, was cemented during the long and feeble reign of Henry III.; the Pope joined the King against the Barons and the Church; and it is significant that Simon de Montfort (1257) was the champion of the Church, whilst the Papal Legate was the adviser of the King. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the history of the Church of England is little more than a history of the Popes, and an almost uninterrupted series of Papal encroachments and abuses; and as the Church of England had grown very rich, no country in Europe was subjected to such heavy taxations, or suffered equally from Papal avarice. By this time also the "Forged Decretals[s]" had done their work; the most exag-

[s] The "Forged Decretals," first published about A.D. 836, profess to carry back the decretal Epistles of Popes to the days of Clement, Bishop of Rome A.D. 91, a time when no Papal decrees were thought of. The first genuine decretal is that of Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in A.D. 385.

gerated notions of the powers of the Papacy were established; demands, however unjust, were sure, under threat of excommunication, to be conceded. Under the more able Kings, indeed, Rome was kept somewhat under control, but under the weaker Kings abuses multiplied; yet the English nation never at any time willingly acquiesced in the exactions of Rome; from time to time the Church, the King, the nation protested; however, so long as only the Church suffered, Pope and King found it convenient to act in concert.

A few of the exactions practised by the Popes on England must be mentioned. Pope Honorius III., A.D. 1225, demanded through his Legate two marks from every convent in the kingdom; the next year he demanded two Prebends in every Cathedral: this latter demand, however, was received only with mirth and ridicule. Next came an order for the payment of a tithe on the annual income of all benefices, first a tenth, and afterwards a fifth, for a Crusade against the Emperor; so that now the English Church was to be taxed for a private quarrel of the Pope's. In 1240 Gregory IX. issued a brief, requiring no fewer than three hundred of the first vacant benefices for Italians. Innocent IV. is said to have drawn annually from England for the foreigners who were appointed to English benefices 70,000 marks, a sum more than triple the whole revenue of the Crown[h].

[h] Matt. Paris, vit. Henric. III.

The Pope also claimed the patronage of all benefices vacated by the Incumbent dying in Rome ("vacantes in Curiâ"); and as Appeals were now frequently taken to Rome, and many litigants had to attend the courts there, the Livings thus vacated were numerous.

By the system of *Provisions* the Popes first asked, and next demanded, the reversion of benefices before they became vacant, into which they thrust their relations or friends; sometimes fifty or sixty benefices being thus held by the same person, who could not speak English, who never set foot in England, but provided for his duty by some half-starved substitutes.

If to these exactions we add Annates or First-fruits, which (through the frequent removal of Clergymen from one Living to another) took an immense income to Rome; money paid for the Pall; Peter-pence, or Rome-scot[1], an annual tribute of a penny paid out of every family on the Feast of St. Peter; the large sums paid into the Papal Exchequer for Appeals to Rome, the Probate of Wills, the Marriage Laws, the Laws of Church Dues, of Tithes, and other properties; if besides these we calculate fees for ex-

[1] Roman Catholic controversialists point to Peter-pence as a proof of England's ancient subjection to Rome, and the bad character of the King who abolished it; but they forget the grossly immoral life and questionable motives of Offa, King of Mercia (who in addition to other crimes was a murderer) who instituted it.

emption from the Church's Laws, for Indulgences, for Pluralities and Non-residence, we may then, and not before then, form some idea of the extent to which Papal extortion in this country was carried.

It will thus be seen that the Popes of Rome had become very different from Pope Gregory the Great, who refused the title of "Universal Bishop," and that the Church of Rome had gained in England a very different position from what it held in the time of Augustine. But the nation never sat easy under these exactions. Long before the Reformation, Reformers[k] strove against the abuses of the Roman Court, and the Pope was regarded in England as little better than a foreign extortioner. But in the last years of the thirteenth century a momentous change was effected in the Constitution of the country. In 1295 Edward I. called together a Parliament, founded on the same principle as our Parliaments of the present day, which was to represent all the classes or estates of the realm.

No sooner was the character of the National Assembly established than an important series of enactments began, which showed the determination of the country to secure the independence of the Church

[k] Such were Rich and Bradwardine, Archbishops of Canterbury; Sewell and Thursby of York; Fitz Ralph of Armagh; Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln; the Author of "Piers Ploughman's Vision," and Wicliffe.

against the encroachments of Rome: so that the Statute-book of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is full of legislation against the aggressions of the Pope and in support of the Church[1].

Meanwhile the Papacy had lost the respect of Europe. In the fourteenth century (1309—1377) the Papal Chair was removed from Rome to Avignon, and the Popes of Rome became the dependants of France and mere tools of the French King. The rapacity of the Popes, however, increased, for they had need of replenishing their exhausted treasury; but now it was doubly humiliating, for the money was paid to a French Pope, the Pope of a country the enemy of England. In 1365 Pope Urban V. demanded the tribute of the thousand marks promised by King John, as well as the arrears of thirty-three years. This insult aroused the temper of the nation; the three Estates of the Realm came to the unanimous decision that John's submission had been made "without their assent, and against his Coronation Oath," and they pledged themselves to oppose any future claims from the Pope with all their power.

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[1] We can merely mention some of the various statutes which were passed, either before or since this period; the principal were:—The Constitutions of Clarendon (1164); the Statute of Mortmain (1279); the Statute of Carlisle (1306); the Statute of Provisors (1390); the Statute of Præmunire (1393).

In 1378 followed a still greater disgrace to Rome, when the Great Schism shook the Papacy to the centre, and exhibited to the world the spectacle of two Popes making the world ring with their mutual invectives and anathemas, so that the whole of Christendom was necessarily under excommunication from one Pope or the other, and was unable to discover to which of the two competing Popes, who were reviling and cursing each other, the Headship of the Church belonged. The schism continued. Councils, to which England sent representatives, were assembled to effect a *Reformation.* The Council of Pisa (A.D. 1409), of Florence (1414—1418), of Basel (1431), all agreed that the Papacy was corrupt to the core; a "Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members" was demanded on all sides; but in vain; Rome was not likely to reform itself, so long as its corruptions were productive of such advantages.

Such was the state of things when Henry VIII. became King of England (1509—1547). With the character of Henry VIII. and his divorce we have nothing to do. The Reformation was not one event, but a series of events, which only culminated in his reign. There is no one particular event of which it can be said, That is the Reformation. By the Reformation some people understand the throwing off the Papal Supremacy; others the discontinuance of Annates and other payments to Rome; others the suppression of the monasteries; others the putting

forth the Prayer-Book or the Articles; but as a matter of fact, these changes were effected by different people at different times; and were the effect of causes which had long been operating, not only in England, but on the Continent. Henry had been styled Defender of the Faith by the Pope, and yet it was he who was to overthrow the Pope. Under him the Reformation was political rather than religious; he was thoroughly opposed to doctrinal changes, and died, as he had lived, a Roman Catholic. After he had established his own supremacy, and plundered the Church as much as he was able, he was satisfied with his work, and would have left the Anglican Church differing from the Roman on the point of supremacy alone. He burnt on one day (July 30, 1540) six people, three for holding non-Roman doctrines, and three, Priests and Doctors of Divinity, for upholding the supremacy of the Pope.

The Reformation Parliament of Henry's reign met in November, 1529, and sat for seven years. This Parliament declared that "they did not intend to vary from Christ's Church about the articles of this Catholic Faith of Christendom[a]." Henry himself expressed a similar resolution in a letter to Cardinal Pole: "not to separate himself or his realm from the unity of Christ's Church, but inviolably and at all times to keep and observe the same, and to redeem

[a] Burnet, Ref., i. 265.

the Church of England *out of captivity of foreign powers heretofore usurped therein.*"

So far from the Crown having made a new Church at the Reformation, the Reformation, as far as it concerned the essentials of the Church, proceeded first from Convocation, to be sanctioned by Parliament and the Crown afterwards. Indeed the first suggestion of separation from Rome came from the Clergy. And it must be remembered that the Clergy, if ever they were Roman Catholics, were Roman Catholics then; and the Lower Houses of Convocation, being elected by the Clergy, were doubtless fair representatives of their opinions. In 1531 a petition against the payment of Annates was presented to the King by Convocation. In 1532 the Reformation Parliament passed an Act forbidding all appeals to Rome[o]; and in 1534 the payment of Annates to the Pope was forbidden. Shortly afterwards it was enacted that "henceforward no Bishop shall be commended, presented, or nominated by the Bishop of Rome, nor shall send thither to procure any Bulls or Palls[p]."

On March 31, 1534, the Convocations of Canterbury and of York declared that "the Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in this kingdom of England, than any other foreign Bishop." In the same year the King took the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England on earth," and the

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[o] 24 Henry VIII. c. 12. [p] 25 Henry VIII. c. 20.

Act of Supremacy[1] was passed. Thus far Henry had only restored the Church to its former position. But it was not likely that Henry, who was an arbitrary despot in the State, would not be also a despot in the Church. The temptation of filling his pockets was too strong to be resisted: so his supremacy was quickly followed (in February, 1536) by the suppression of the lesser monasteries, on the ground (which was perhaps true) of their profligacy: the revenue being transferred to the King. Parliament acknowledged the piety and good discipline of the larger monasteries; notwithstanding this, however, a second Act of suppression was passed in 1539, and these also were suppressed on the allegation of their being hot-beds of vice.

During the reign of Henry the doctrinal Reformation, so far as it was in a non-Roman direction, proceeded principally from the Church. In 1536 Convocation set themselves to consider the question of doctrinal reforms, and the result of their deliberations was the passing of Ten Articles, the precursors of the XXXIX. Articles of Religion. In the next year was published "The Institution of a Christian Man," composed by a commission of forty-six divines, all the Bishops, and amongst them Gardiner and Bonner, being in the number. In 1543 a revised and enlarged edition was published under the title of

[1] 26 Henry VIII. c. 1 and 13.

"A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man."

In 1538 a Royal Injunction was issued ordering a copy of the Bible in English to be placed in every parish church. In 1543, at the instance of Convocation, a chapter of the Bible was ordered to be read in every parish church on Sundays and Holy-days; in 1544 a revision of the service-books was made by a committee appointed for the purpose, in which it appears that Convocation ultimately took a part, and the Litany was drawn up in English, much as we have it now, for public use in church. But in 1539 the cruel Statute of the Six Articles was passed, which struck a blow at any hopes that might be entertained by a reforming party, making the denial of Transubstantiation punishable with death, and enforcing other mediæval dogmas by fine and imprisonment[r].

A great deal of misunderstanding prevails with regard to that Act, which vested the supremacy of the Anglican Church in the Sovereign. The transference of the Supremacy from the Pope to the King was in reality only a return to what had existed in earlier times, when "Kings were the nursing-fathers

[r] By this Act (1) the doctrine of Transubstantiation was established; (2) Communion in *one* kind; (3) The marriage of Priests forbidden; (4) Vows of Celibacy declared obligatory; (5) Private Masses for souls in Purgatory upheld; (6) Auricular Confession sanctioned.

and Queens the nursing-mothers" of the Church. So the Clergy were willing to acknowledge the King's supremacy, but not in the terms which he desired. The King wished them to ackowledge him as "Protector and Supreme Head" of the English Church; the Clergy were desirous of getting rid of the usurped Supremacy of the Pope, but they had no idea of accepting a Royal Pope in his place. They insisted, therefore, on a qualifying clause, "quantum per Christi legem licet ('so far as is permitted by the law of Christ') etiam supremum caput." Only in that sense did the Church acknowledge the King as Supreme Head[s]. And that this was the only sense in which the title was acknowledged both by the Clergy and the King we have ample evidence. The King, in a letter to Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, admits this interpretation; "We be," he writes, "as God's law suffereth us to be, whereunto we do and must conform ourselves;" and in this sense Tunstall, who first objected to the title, was satisfied with it, and in 1536 wrote to Cardinal Pole in justification of the King's conduct. That the qualifying clause was omitted in the Act of 1534 is of no practical consequence now, for the Act was repealed in the

[s] "Ecclesia et Cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem et unicum et supremum dominum et (quantum per Christi legem licet) etiam supremum caput, ipsius majestatem recognoscimus." So Archbishop Bramhall (Works, p. 25) calls our kings "Political Heads" of the Church.

reign of Mary, and was not revived by Elizabeth, who accepted only the title of Governor, as implying subordinate, and not primary, authority.

We now come to the reign of Edward VI. (1547—1553). In 1549 a committee of Bishops and Clergy, which had been appointed in 1542 for the purpose of revising the service-books, produced the Book of Common Prayer known as the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. This Book was in substance identical with the older service-books, the Communion Office being an adaptation of the old Missal Mass-office, and the Matins and Evensong of the Breviary Lauds, Prime, Vespers, and Compline. The great majority of the prayers and other parts of the book were translations from Latin and Greek Rituals which had been used fourteen or fifteen hundred years in the Christian Church. The principal differences between this book and the "Sarum Use," which had been the most common of the old service-books, was the compression in the new Prayer-Book of four or five books into our daily Matins and Evensong, as being better suited for congregational use; the reading of the Psalter through once a month instead of (as it used to be in *theory*[1]) once a week, the selection of the Lessons from the Bible only, and

[1] The frequent recurrence of Festivals made the recitation of the whole Psalter in any one week extremely rare, and it is very doubtful whether it is so recited anywhere now in the Latin Church.

the substitution of the English for the Latin language. This book was pronounced in the Act of Uniformity of 1549 to have been composed "under the influence of the Holy Ghost," and there is good reason for supposing that it received the sanction of Convocation, and was willingly received by the Church. However, it did not satisfy the new Puritanical body, so a further review was made in 1552, in which, however, the changes were not nearly so sweeping as the Puritans desired: Parliament spoke of the new Book being called forth "rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any other worthy cause;" and it does not appear to have received the sanction of Convocation [u].

In the reign of Edward VI. Communion in both kinds was established and approved by Convocation. The marriage of the Clergy also was allowed in this reign, after much stronger opposition in Parliament than it received in Convocation; Convocation having first sanctioned it by 53 to 32 votes. Parliament, although it gave its consent, declared that "it is to be wished the Clergy would live single, that they might be more at leisure to attend the business of their functions."

In 1553, Forty-two Articles of Religion were drawn up by Cranmer, and after being approved

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[u] The book underwent further revision in 1559, 1603, and 1662.

by some Bishops and other Divines, were submitted to the King with a request that he would authorize the Bishops and Clergy to subscribe them. Whether they received the sanction of Convocation is uncertain; from their title, however[x], we may conclude that they did.

Edward VI. reigned only six years, but the ultra-Protestant character which the Reformation assumed under him caused a reaction in the mind of the nation; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, of London, had been deprived of their Sees on account of their opposition to the King's advisers; and many people, disgusted at the fanaticism of Edward's reign, willingly acquiesced in the restoration of the Papal authority under Mary. They were not, however, prepared to see England the slave of Spain; and although formal absolution was given to the nation in 1554, and the authority of the Pope was restored, yet the revival of the Papal power, and the persecutions that followed, showed the reunion between England and Rome under terms of the Papal supremacy to be impossible. It must also be remarked that the ecclesiastical system introduced under Mary was not identical with that which prevailed in England under Henry VII. It was distinctively Italian and Roman, differing, in many essential particulars,

[x] "Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi . . . inter Episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat."

in law, in ritual, and even in doctrine, from mediæval Anglicanism, and thus was felt to be an innovation by many who had no sympathy with the New Learning; so that the nation willingly veered round again when Elizabeth (A.D. 1558) came to the throne. Under her the Church assumed the position which it was afterwards to occupy, the rejection of Papal supremacy on historical, not on religious grounds, and the assertion of the independence of the Church and State on any foreign power.

But the short reign of Mary had created such an antipathy to Rome that a reaction in favour of Puritanism followed. Elizabeth, Catholic as she was by education and by choice, was obliged to proceed warily in her dealings with the Puritans. The mutinous and treasonable attitude taken up by a large Roman Catholic section after the Bull of deposition was fulminated by the Pope, compelled the Queen to conciliate the Puritans, as the political danger of having two disaffected parties against her at the same time was too serious to be neglected[1].

The first Act of the first Parliament held in her reign reasserted the supremacy of the Crown in England, although, as has been already mentioned, the Queen refused to assume the title of "Supreme

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[1] Thus it is to Rome's action that the spread of Puritanism, which has done so much harm to the Church of England, is to be attributed.

Head of the Church," which has never been revived by any English sovereign; and declared that all she claimed was "under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms."

During the same session an Act was passed for again legalizing the Book of Common Prayer; but in order to appease the Protestant party the Second Book of Edward VI. was adopted as the standard of worship, with the addition of a Rubric (known as the Ornaments Rubric) authorizing the ceremonial appointed under the First Book of King Edward VI.[1] But this Book probably did not receive the sanction of Convocation.

In 1563, and again in 1571, the Convocation of Canterbury, under Archbishop Parker, remodelled the Forty-two Articles which had been drawn up in King Edward VI.'s reign; and the number of Articles was reduced to Thirty-nine[a].

Thus was the Reformation settlement completed, and of so Catholic a character was it that it was willingly embraced by Roman Catholics themselves. By the Act of Uniformity of 1559 every one was obliged to attend his parish church, and thus all who were opposed to the Reformation were forced to declare

[1] See vol. ii. p. 329.

[a] The Canons of 1604 were drawn up by Convocation, and published by the King's authority under the Great Seal of England.

themselves. But out of 9,400 Clergy, only 6 Abbots, 12 Archdeacons, 50 Prebendaries, 15 Heads of Colleges, and 80 Rectors and Vicars, refused to accept the Act, and were deprived. Pius IV., who became Pope in 1560, severely censured the harshness of his predecessor (Paul IV.) in his manner of dealing with the Queen, and sent his Nuncio to her with a letter, announcing his approval and his willingness to accept the English Prayer-Book, if only the Queen would acknowledge his supremacy[b]. This, of course, the Queen refused to do, so in 1570 Pope Pius V. issued the Bull "Regnans in Excelsis," excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, the "pretended Queen of England," as a "Vassal of Iniquity," and absolving her subjects from their allegiance.

Thus Rome separated itself from England, and not England from Rome. But to this day the Church of England retains the same Creeds, the same Orders, the same Sacraments as before, so that she still communicates with the *primitive* and Apostolic Church of Rome.

Before closing this chapter a few words must be said with regard to the plea which is sometimes adduced, that the Church of England, by the mere fact of separation from Rome (however caused), lost

[b] Lord Coke, in his Charge at the Norwich Assizes, August 4, 1606, said he had often heard the Queen avow this, and that several noblemen in England had seen the letters to that effect.

all true spiritual jurisdiction, and all share in Catholic Fellowship. Now, according to the laws of the Roman Church itself, there had been no true Pope in canonical possession of the See of Rome for some forty years before the breach began; there has been none since, and there is no machinery whereby that fatal defect can be made good. By the Canon Law and the received theological doctrine of the Roman Church, a mere *de facto* tenure of ecclesiastical rank and office never acquires validity by lapse of time;—it must be *de jure* also, unlike the rule which holds for secular governments. Next, Simony is a fatal disqualification, involving total loss of rank and office in the case of both the guilty parties; and from this penalty only the Pope himself can grant absolution. But obviously a Pope cannot absolve himself. Now Alexander VI. was in 1492 simoniacally elected Pope by the bribery of more than two-thirds of the College of Cardinals. Thus he could never have been true Pope. He also openly sold his Cardinalates; so that his Cardinals were irregular twice over, as appointed by one who was never really Pope, and as being themselves simoniacs. Julius II. was also simoniacally elected; the Cardinalates, therefore, to which he appointed were similarly void. And yet he issued a Bull declaring all simoniacally elected Popes to be heretics and intruders, and incapable of being ever recognized as Pontiffs, no matter what recognition and homage might be accorded them; wording,

moreover, this formidable document in such a manner as to make it *retrospective* in action. And Leo X. was elected by a College of Cardinals, all of whom were the uncanonical Cardinals of Alexander VI. and Julius II., and therefore incompetent and null as electors; whilst Leo himself sold the Cardinalates in his turn. Therefore, according to the law of the Roman Church itself, there has been no canonical Pope since 1492, as no-Popes have made no-Cardinals from that time, and *vice versâ*, at each fresh Papal election.

The above remarks are necessary to show that no breach at the Reformation was made between the Anglican Church and the Church of Rome as it existed when Gregory the Great was Pope, and when Augustine came to England. It is clear that no Parliamentary Church was established in England, for the Reformation was carried out by Convocation[c]. Nor was any new Church created, for our Reformers acted on the principle of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, "Let the ancient customs prevail[d]." The Church takes her stand and is ready to be judged by the earliest ages of the Church. In her Articles, in her Ordinal,

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[c] Selden in his "Table-Talk" mentions, in answer to the Roman cavil that the Church of England is a "Parliamentary Church;" that however this may be, there was certainly once a Parliamentary Pope, for it was the English Parliament which decided for Pope Urban (of the Roman line) against Pope Clement of Avignon.

[d] τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω.

in her Homilies, in her Canons, over and over again she asserts this; again and again she appeals to "Ancient Authors," "Ancient Canons," "Ancient Fathers," and "Decrees" of the Church. Under Holy Scriptures she places "those canonical books of whose authority was *never any doubt in the Church*[e]." The "Three Creeds" which were framed in the earliest days of the Catholic Church "ought thoroughly to be received and believed[f]." Public prayers in a language not "understanded of the people" is condemned as repugnant to "the customs of the primitive Church[g]." The same is declared in her Ordinal[h], in her Homilies, and Canons[i]. Whereas, if it is necessary to make a comparison, it may be stated that the Church of Rome in its Reformation, which took place (1545—1563) about the same time as the English Reformation, instead of recurring to antiquity, established twelve Articles of Faith, the greater number of them then declared for the first time, and required to be received on oath as necessary to salvation[k].

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[e] Art. vi. [f] Art. viii. [g] Art. xxiv.

[h] "It is evident . . . that *from the Apostles' time* there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

[i] See Can. xxxi., xxxii., xxxiii., lx.

[k] "Hanc veram, Catholicam fidem extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, voveo, spondeo, et juro." The Creed of Pius IV. (at the Council of Trent) contains these twelve points:—1. Seven Sacraments. 2. Trent doctrine of Justification and Original

But as it will be allowed that our Reformers knew their own minds better than the opponents of the Church in the present day, we will conclude this chapter with one quotation from the Church Formularies themselves. Thus Canon XXX. asserts: "So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, that . . . it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endanger the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departs from them in these particular points, wherein they have fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the apostolical Churches which were their first founders." This, if other arguments failed, must be conclusive.

Sin. 3. Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass. 4. Transubstantiation. 5. Communion in One Kind. 6. Purgatory. 7. Invocation of Saints. 8. Veneration of Reliques. 9. Image Worship. 10. The Roman Church the Mother and Mistress of all Churches. 11. Swearing obedience to the Pope. 12. Receiving the decrees of all Synods and of Trent.—See Dr. Wordsworth's Theophilus Anglicanus.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH IN DANGER[a].

IF we were to ask those who are disaffected to the Church, and who are ignorant of its history, the meaning of Disestablishment and Disendowment, we should be told that it was the depriving the Church of England of those privileges which the State originally conferred on it. But then the question arises, What is Establishment? We have seen in the last chapter that the State never could have established the Church, for the simple reason that the Church existed some hundreds of years before the State, and that it would be more correct to say that the Church made the State, than to say that the State made the Church. Still an opinion prevails in some quarters that at one particular time the State made choice of one out of many religious communities in the country, upon which it bestowed special marks of favour; that whilst it might have selected the Roman, or the Lutheran, or the Calvinist, or some other sect, it chose that which is known as the Church of England;

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[a] Much information in this chapter is derived from the publications of the "Church Defence Institution."

that it established it, endowed it with large possessions, and gave it exceptional privileges; that, by way of balance, a bargain was struck between these two bodies, Church and State, which subjected the Church, in a manner different from the other communities, to State control. Such a bargain actually did take place in other countries, but it never took place in England. In France the civil power did establish a formal compact, when a *concordat* or agreement was made between the supreme secular power in the person of Napoleon I., and the head of that religious body which was established in that country, in the person of the Pope.

How then, it will be asked, did the Church of England come to be *established?* The answer is,—in precisely the same manner as every other institution in the country: just as the government by King and Parliament is established. In the present day we observe a number of religious bodies, and people are apt to imagine that this was always so. The historical fact is that the Church was formerly coextensive with the nation; hence arose the term *National Church;* the Church was the nation viewed with reference to religion, just as the army and navy were the nation viewed in reference to warfare[b]. This was the aspect of Church and State from the seventh to the sixteenth century; individual oppo-

[b] Freeman's Disestablishment and Disendowment, p. 29.

nents there were, as there always had been, in the Church, but there was no recognized Dissenting community; the Jews who settled in the country formed no part of the nation; they were looked upon as strangers, as mere chattels of the King, to be persecuted or tolerated at his will. The Lollards who appeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not open Separatists, but disaffected members of the Church, not numerous enough to affect the identity of the Church and nation; their religion also was mixed up with politics, and the impulse was to get rid of them, as disturbers of the body politic. So that the word *Established* was not applied to the Church as opposed to other religious bodies which were not established, for the reason that no other religious bodies existed, and no idea was broached that there could be another Church.

The intimate connexion which exists in this country between Church and State is due to the circumstance that, in the early history of the English people, the Church, that is to say, the clerical members of the Church, comprised all the intelligence of the land, of which the State availed itself by summoning to its councils the Archbishops and Bishops. In course of time, when learning spread, the State grew jealous of the power and influence of the Church, and passed measures for regulating it, with the distinct object of curtailing its authority and circumscribing its influence.

By degrees the word *Established* came into use, and was applied to the Church, but only in its civil capacity and in its relations to the State, just as it might be applied to any other institution in the country; it meant, not that the rights, and privileges, and properties of the Church have been created, but that they are safeguarded, by the laws of the State. The Church was at that time the only Church, and therefore the only established religion, in the country. When by degrees nearly two hundred different sects of Dissenters sprung up, a different state of things arose; and as the sanction and protection of the law is necessary for every Society which exists in the land, Dissent, no less than, and in the same sense as, the Church, became *Established.* Since the Act of Toleration was passed, every sect which can appeal to legal protection is Established [c].

At one time the State protected the faith of the Church and persecuted Dissent; so long as that condition of things existed, the Church alone may be said to have been established. In the present day, the State by establishing a religion does not pronounce upon its soundness, but only affirms the right of Englishmen to adopt it if they choose. All religious bodies are under the control of the State, for by the ancient constitution of the land the Sovereign in England is

[c] That is to say "legibus stabilita;" for this and for authorities, see vol. i. p. 80 and note.

"over all persons, in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, within his dominions, supreme."

We will mention some advantages which in the present day accrue to dissenters from Establishment, and which they would not enjoy if they were not established [d]:—(1.) Their meeting-houses are "certified" for public worship, and protected from disturbance during service. (2.) They are given facilities for acquiring sites for burial-grounds and meeting-houses. (3.) Their meeting-houses are exempted from payment of parish rates and Queen's taxes. (4.) Their trust-deeds are enrolled in Chancery. (5.) Their ministers are empowered to celebrate marriages, to conduct funerals, and to refuse to serve in various burdensome civil offices, compulsory on other citizens. (6.) Their meeting-houses and endowments are removed out of the cognizance of the Charity Commissioners. (7.) Aggrieved members of any Dissenting congregation can sue for the enforcement of the trust-deed in the Court of Chancery. (8.) Twenty-five years' use of any doctrine establishes it as against the trust-deed, and confers the annexed endowment on the minister and congregation.

In 1842 a famous law-suit, which had dragged on its weary length for twelve years, with regard to Lady Hewley's Charity, terminated, and requires to

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[d] See an Article on this subject in the *National Review* for May, 1886.

be noticed for more than one reason. Lady Hewley, a Presbyterian of Calvinistic views, dying in 1710, bequeathed by her will valuable landed property to trustees for the benefit of Presbyterianism, which was, however, a very different faith at the time when she made her will from the Unitarianism into which it afterwards drifted. In 1832 a suit was instituted against the trustees by those who considered themselves *orthodox* Presbyterians, on the ground that when Lady Hewley lived, Unitarianism was not, and could not have been, the religion of the Presbyterians, for it was forbidden by law. The tedious Chancery suit was settled for a time in 1842, judgment being given against the trustees; Lord Lyndhurst decided that the *orthodox* Dissenters were entitled to the charity, and that the endowments must be restored to their original purposes. But by this judgment many Unitarian congregations were in danger of being ejected from chapels where their ancestors had worshipped for several generations, and much injustice seemed to be entailed upon them, inasmuch as under any other kind of property they would have had a prescriptive right. To remedy this supposed injustice, Lord Lyndhurst's Act was passed in 1844; in the House of Lords it was strongly opposed by the Bishops, but passed by 41 votes to 9, and in the House of Commons, where it was proposed by Sir Robert Peel and supported by Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Macaulay,

it was carried by 300 to 119 votes. The new Act provided that a usage of twenty-five years should give a congregation a right to their places of worship, their schools, burial-grounds, and endowments[e]. Two things are made clear by this law-suit and Act of Parliament: (1) that Nonconformists are quite as fond of endowments as any other class of people; (2) that if every other argument failed, this of the twenty-five years' use would be quite sufficient to confirm the Church of England in her endowments.

And not only has Nonconformity been established, but it has been endowed also by the State, first out of the Royal Bounty, and later out of the taxes. Pensions were paid to Presbyterian Ministers as early as Charles II.'s time, £50 to most of them, and £100 to their leading men. Large sums were continually paid since the Revolution to Dissenters in Ireland, and occur in several Appropriation Acts down to 1840; annual votes for English Dissenters were also passed, and the bulk of the money went to foster Welsh Nonconformity. All such payments out of the taxes have now ceased, but the endowments secured by Nonconformist bodies have become numerous and wealthy; they are also still indirectly endowed by the State by virtue of the exemption of their chapels from rates, which, if levied, would

[e] Skeats' Hist. of the Free Churches, pp. 251, 613; Hans. Debates, 7 and 8 Vict. c. 45.

bring in several thousands of pounds yearly; besides this, they have of late years received a share in those University endowments which were undoubtedly left to the Church of England[f].

These facts, relating to the altered position of Dissenters, people are apt to overlook. A very different state of things exists in the present day from what existed when Church and State were the same body under different aspects, and when Nonconformists were persecuted: now Nonconformity is established equally with the Church; it has also been endowed by the State; whereas the State has done nothing but hamper and plunder the Church, the small restitution which it has made in the present century being but a tiny fraction of her own property, of which the State had deprived her.

The phrase "Religion established by Law," as applied to the Church, though enshrined in several Acts of Parliament, and familiar in the present day, means really no more than this, that Parliament has settled what oaths and declarations the ministers of the Church must take; *how* their incomes shall be paid; what civil rights and privileges they shall enjoy; with what legal authority and dignity Prelates shall be invested. The only inequality under which Dissenters of the present day are placed is

[f] Epitome in *Church Times* of the above-mentioned Article in *National Review*.

with regard to Prelates having seats in the House of Lords; but this is more than counterbalanced by Clergymen of the Church of England being excluded from the House of Commons, whilst Dissenting ministers of all sects are eligible to it[g]. Parliament has never dealt with the Church as an organized body exterior to itself; it has only regulated the conditions on which the Clergy shall receive institution to the temporalities of the Church[h].

But when people talk of the Church as "Established by Law," if they mean by some law which favours the Church more than Dissent, we must ask what law they refer to? Is it some Law of the Church or of the State? In dealing with the question we must leave the region of assumption, which Liberationists delight in, and betake ourselves to the only certain guide, that of History. The Law of the Church is to be found in its Formularies, and in the records of its deliberative Assemblies; the Law of the State in the Common or Statute Law of the land. If such an event as the Establishment of the Church by the State ever took place, there must be

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[g] Previous to the Reformation the spiritual Peers in the House of Lords were 2 Priors and 27 Abbots in addition to the Bishops, and they outnumbered the temporal Peers. In the present day the Bishops would probably be of greater service in their dioceses, so that this inequality might easily be removed.

[h] National Church, 1878, p. 175.

some official record to be found either in the history of the Church or nation, between the earliest periods of their existence and the time of the Reformation, or since. Churchmen demand such a record; those who say the Church has been established by the State have not adduced a single statute under which the State established it. Why have they not done so? For the simple reason that no such document exists.

Magna Charta (1215), which was enacted at a time when what is now called the State did not exist, and when there was no Parliament, did not pretend to *create* the rights of the Church, but proceeded on the assumption that the Church was already in possession of its rights, for the first Article of the Charter declared that "The Church of England (*Ecclesia Anglicana*[i]) shall be free, and shall have her rights entire, and her liberties uninjured[k]." From that time to the Reformation there is no document to show that the State did, or that it considered that it did, establish the Church. Nor again does any Reformation Statute of Henry VIII. or Elizabeth adduce, or make mention of, any claims of disestablishing by

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[i] This is the term which Pope Gregory used in his instructions to Augustine.

[k] "In primis concessisse Deo et hâc præsenti cartâ nostrâ confirmâsse pro nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum quod Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit, et habeat jura sua intacta, et libertates suas illæsas."—Magna Charta.

law one Church and establishing another: the professed object of such legislation as exists on the subject was (as has been shown in the last chapter) to abolish Roman supremacy and Roman error, not to make a new Church.

The phrase "Establishing" is not to be found earlier than the reign of Edward VI., and then not with reference to the Church, but "establishing the Book of Common Prayer now explained and hereto attached[1]" (i.e. as a schedule to the Act of Uniformity); but no claim is urged to "establishing" the Church[m].

It is evident that at a later time (although not in the sense attributed to it by Liberationists) the term "Established" came into use; but it must be observed that the same word is applied to the Crown as well as to the Church. Thus Canon ii. of 1604 speaks of the "Royal supremacy . . . restored to the Crown, and by the Laws of this Realm therein *established*." No one would of course contend that Convocation in drawing up the Canons, or the King in sanctioning the expression, meant to imply anything further than the confirmation of what was *restored* to the Crown: and the same word when used in the same Canons must be interpreted in a

[1] 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 1.

[m] The expression occurs again in the Act of Uniformity of 1662, but also with reference to the Prayer-Book "as it is now by Law established."

similar sense, as confirming the Church in its rights, at the Reformation. So the very next Canon to that which uses the word "establishing" in relation to the Crown, speaks also of the "Church of England as by Law *established* under the King's Majesty[a]." Canon iv. speaks of "the forms of God's worship in the Church of England 'established by Law,' and contained in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments;" Canon vi. of the "Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England by Law established;" Canon x. of the "Orders and Constitutions therein by Law established." When, therefore, mention is made of the "Established Church," we may take the expression to refer to the Prayer-Book and Orders and Constitutions of the Church. But when once the word came into use, it is not difficult to trace its progress. By an easy transition it passed from things belonging to the Church to the Church itself, and especially was this the case under the Erastian spirit which gained ground at the Revolution. Bearing in mind the spirit which then prevailed, we need not be surprised to find the Parliament of 1689, in its address to William III., speaking of the Church as "Established by Law;" nor to find the Dutch King, who knew nothing of the history of the English Church, referring to it in his answer as "the Church of England

[a] The same Canon describes it as a "true and Apostolical Church."

as by Law established." This loose and misleading expression was sure to gain strength under William's Latitudinarian Bishops, and, as agreeable to the spirit of the times, to pass into common use in the torpor of the eighteenth century, until the expressions, "the Establishment," "the National Establishment," "the Church Established by Law," became, in the current phraseology of the day (even in the mouths of well-intentioned people who had no idea of the meaning that would be forced into them), ordinary expressions as synonymous with the Church [o].

There was not much harm meant at first by the term, but of late years it has become a party-word, and a distorted meaning is applied to it. Not long ago one of the first orators of the day [p], addressing a meeting at Birmingham, said that "in the time of Henry VIII. a large proportion of the property which belonged to the Church was transferred from the old Church of Rome to the Church of Henry VIII.," and he added, "What a tremendous burglary that was at once [q]." This purely imaginary fact was of

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[o] How the meaning of words becomes changed is shewn by the term *Protestant*. So also a person is spoken of "as going into the Church," meaning that he is going to be ordained, as if laymen were not equally "the Church" with Clergymen, or as if he had not been admitted into the Church by Baptism.

[p] The Right Hon. John Bright.

[q] The National Church, July, 1886.

course applauded by people who knew no better. The speaker's character is above suspicion; he did not mean wilfully to deceive; there is only one other alternative, viz. that he, being a Dissenter from the Church, knew nothing about the Church's history, and therefore spoke in ignorance. And therein lies the great danger to the Church in the present day. People read novels, and lives, and travels, and they get up secular history, but they do not trouble themselves about Church history. Unscrupulous men, taking advantage of the general ignorance on Church matters which prevails, and presuming upon it, indulge in misrepresentations which political Dissenters and opponents of religion in general are only too ready to accept. During the Parliamentary elections in the autumn of last year, organizations were set on foot with the single object of defending the Church. The plan was advocated by Lord Selborne, late Lord Chancellor, a man who has the Church's history at his fingers' ends, from whose pen a letter appeared which Churchmen of all schools of thought would do well to ponder, in which he declared he could barely give the name of *Liberal* to any one who meditated so great an act of spoliation as the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church.

On the other hand, another Cabinet Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, declared at Glasgow, on September 15, 1885: "I am a Liberationist . . . the appropriation

to the service of a single sect of funds which were originally destined for the benefit of the whole nation is an injustice[1]." Mr. Chamberlain is a Dissenter, and as some day he may perhaps hold a higher place in the State than he does at present, it may be as well to learn his intentions, in order that Churchmen, being forewarned, may be forearmed. He speaks of the incompatibility of an Established Church with "religious equality," and with the "fundamental principles of Liberalism;" he does not fix a time for the practical solution of the problem, but he asserts that "it is the duty of all of us who have faith in our principles to advocate them on every occasion, and to endeavour *to educate the majority of the people to our views.*"

When leading statesmen avow themselves to be Liberationists, it is necessary to understand fully what Liberationism means, and what Disestablishment and Disendowment involve. Disestablishment is practically the formal renunciation of Christianity by the State; Disendowment is the confiscation by the State of the property of the Church of England. The one is involved in the other, and in order to leave no doubt on the subject, the Liberation Society

[1] When the Leader of a party takes up such a position, of course many of the rank and file follow. Thus Sir Wilfrid Lawson, in a speech in the Mission Hall, Workington, on July 29, 1886, said, "he would do what he could to sweep away the poison of religious ascendency."

has told us that "Disendowment is involved in Disestablishment."

What then does Disestablishment mean[s]? It means, according to Liberationists,—

(1.) That the Church of England shall cease to be the National Church.

(2.) Both ancient and modern buildings, as well as all endowments, now appropriated to the use of the National Church, must be regarded as national property, at the disposal of the State. With such exceptions as may be determined on, the cathedrals, abbeys, and other monumental buildings should be under national control; and be maintained for such uses as Parliament may from time to time determine. Ancient churches (those which existed before 1818) should be vested in a Parochial Board, to be elected by the ratepayers, which Board should have power to deal with them for the general benefit of the parishioners in such ways as it may be determined. The power of sale at a fair valuation, and under proper regulations, should also be given[t]. Modern churches (those which have been built since 1818)

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[s] The exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords is not here included, as many Churchmen would endorse it.

[t] Thus cathedrals and parish churches might be turned into picture-galleries, schools, perhaps dancing academies, or places of ordinary resort. Such has been the fate of Nonconformist chapels; the Court Theatre in London was once a Dissenting chapel.

are to be "offered to the congregations." If a modern church has been built by subscription, a body, which is no way defined, but which is termed the *congregation*, is to have the power to use it for any purpose it may think proper [u].

(3.) Bishops and Clergy should be relieved from the obligation to the State to discharge their present duties, and should be dealt with then in the same way as other public officials whose services are no longer required by the State.

(4.) Such tithes as are now paid to the Clergy are to be paid, as taxes are, to the State. It is not proposed to do away with them [x], but, as was done in Ireland, to confiscate them for secular purposes. Such tithes as are now paid to lay-impropriators will not be interfered with [y].

(5.) Parsonage-houses, glebes, all Church property administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and by Queen Anne's Bounty Office, are also to be confiscated.

(6.) "When the Church of England is disestab-

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[u] What this congregation may be, whether the first crowd that breaks the door, or some other assemblage, is not stated. —Address of the Dean of Bangor, 1883.

[x] It is therefore evident that neither the landowner nor the farmer would be benefited; tithes would still have to be paid.

[y] And yet these are the only tithes which the State might justifiably interfere with, for they were plundered from the Church, and still morally belong to it.

lished . . . . no faculties should be granted which would re-create a privileged ecclesiastical body [a]."

Now this scheme of the Liberationists is entirely founded on an invention which exists only in their own brains, that the Church is paid by the State. It was shown in the previous chapter how impossible this is, for the reason that the Church enjoyed its endowments hundreds of years before the State or Parliament existed. But we will quote against the crude opinions of the Liberationists authorities which every one acknowledges. First, amongst the Conservatives. The late Lord Beaconsfield (at that time Mr. D'Israeli) said in the House of Commons [b], "The Church of England was not paid by the State, and did not require Parliament to come forward to remunerate her ministers; it was the glory and strength of the Church that she was an independent Corporation, as well as a safe-guard for political liberty." In 1885 a question on the subject having been put to the Marquis of Salisbury, his Secretary answered, "I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury . . . to say that the Bishops receive *no* grants from the State, but they receive a revenue from the ancient endowments given to the Church."

Next we will take the authority of two Liberal statesmen. At the same time that the question as to endowment was put to Lord Salisbury it was also

[a] Liberation Society's Practical Suggestions.

[b] Debate upon the Prison Ministers Bill, 1863.

put to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville. Mr. Gladstone's secretary replied: "Mr. Gladstone desires me to inform you that the Clergy of the Church of England are *not* State-paid." Lord Granville's Secretary answered, "I am desired by Lord Granville to say that tithes existed in England before Acts of Parliament."

We will now quote an authority which Liberationists will of course value. Mr. Miall said: "The State did *not build these churches. It did not endow them. It does not support them.* It has simply absorbed them into the system established by law. *All the beneficence put forth* in achieving these splendid results—for splendid they are—were put forth *by individuals, not Parliament.*"

We might quote the opinions of leading Dissenters to the same effect, but as the late Mr. Miall was the Founder of the Liberation Society, his opinion has great weight: and not only so, but it must open men's eyes to the whole scheme of the Liberationists. In the early days of the Liberationist movement, just when the Dissenters had obtained everything that they had been fighting for during two hundred years, the Liberationists thought, to use Mr. Bright's words quoted above, of the "tremendous burglary" committed on the Church by Henry VIII., and they cast jealous and longing eyes upon the property of the Church. But they felt that open burglary would not do in the closing years of the nineteenth century, so

they beat about for some colourable pretext, and hit upon the idea, which had not occurred to the more honest or less inventive mind of their Founder, what a grand thing it would be if they could commit the burglary under a pretence of virtue. So they invented a new scheme, which would be a very diplomatic move, if they could only find people foolish enough to believe it, viz. that the property of the Church was not really hers, and that it would be for the Church's own good if Parliament deprived her of it. We must once more refer to history, and we shall find that this scheme for robbing the Church has not even the credit of originality; a prior claim (in England) belongs to King Henry VIII.[b] Although Royal plunderers of the Church were not previously unknown, Henry VIII. was the first who professed to do it for her good, just as he committed adultery with Anne Boleyn from a nice regard to the Law of God. In 1536 he seized the property of the smaller monasteries, under the excuse of their

[b] The real inventor of Disestablishment and Disendowment was, however, Julian the Apostate. "He deprived the Clergy of the immunities, honours, and revenues which Constantine had conferred, repealed the laws which had been enacted in their favour, and re-enforced their civil liabilities. . . . In his hatred against the Faith, he seized every opportunity to ruin the Church. He deprived it of its property, ornaments, and sacred vessels. . . . Bishops, Clergy, and other Christians were cruelly tortured and cast into prison."—Sozomen, Eccl. Hist. v. 5.

immorality, the Commissioners reporting that in the larger monasteries "religion was right-well kept and observed;" this report was difficult to get over, so he had to wait three years, till 1539, when they too were treated in the same way; and in 1545 he actually procured the passing of a Bill, enabling him to seize the revenues of the Universities, which his death alone prevented from being carried out.

What the Liberation Society wants Parliament to do is (for it is best to speak plainly), to commit England to the sin of sacrilege, or the sin of robbing God[c]. England has learnt one lesson of the curse that sacrilege attaches to a nation. After Henry VIII. had plundered the Church, such a convulsion was felt throughout the land as it never experienced either before or since. The joints of society were loosened; 72,000 persons (a state of things which in the present day we can scarcely imagine), some rendered desperate by want, others emboldened by the lawless licence of the times, are said to have perished by the hand of the executioner in the reign of Henry VIII. At this juncture the abbey lands and tithes were sold on easy terms to nobles and gentry who were rash enough to purchase them; thus the *lay-impropriator* took his rise. But a curse

[c] Sacrilege and its punishment are described in Malachi iii. 8, "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed Me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed Thee? *In Tithes and Offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse:* for ye have robbed Me."

seemed to fall on all who touched Church property; it showed itself "by strange accidents, by violent deaths, by loss of wealth, or (and that chiefly) by failure of heirs male, and by the circumstance, that such possession hardly ever continued long in the same family[d]." And how was religion affected by the plunder of the Church? We read how that even large parishes were utterly destitute of religion; in many parishes we are told there was no Vicar at all, except the farmer who acted as Parson, unless some castaway monk was found who could scarcely mumble out the Matins, sometimes for no other wage than meat and drink. There was nothing for it but to ordain the lowest mechanics for the worthless benefices, no men of education being willing to accept such a miserable pittance as was offered[e]. And as to its financial condition, never, not even during the civil wars in Charles I.'s time, was England at so low an ebb as under Henry VIII. and in the later years of Edward VI.; a state of national insolvency being all but reached, and the currency debased to a fraction of its nominal value.

We have already stated the plan that the Liberationists have formed for ruining the Church in Eng-

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[d] See Spelman's History and Fate of Sacrilege. Also a concise statement in Grueber's Church of England, p. 91.

[e] Kennet on Impropriations, p. 131.

land. We will now see the position which the opposing forces occupy to each other.

For forty years of its existence (to the end of 1884) the Liberation Society, not seeing any immediate prospect of realizing its hopes, contented itself with attacking the "outworks of the Establishment," and with *educating the people to their views.* They set out from the starting-point that the State had established and endowed the Church, which, though historically false, was well calculated to excite the ill-will of people against the Church. Unintentionally, perhaps, and through ignorance of Church history, they sowed falsehoods broadcast over the land, thus imposing upon the ignorance of Church people. In this they succeeded so well that in December, 1884, the Liberation Society adopted a resolution that "the time has arrived when the question of Disestablishment may be resolutely pressed upon Parliament, upon the constituencies, and upon the country at large." Similar resolutions were arrived at on January 13 and March 24, 1885, and the Committee of the Society determined upon bringing the subject into greater prominence. In view of the coming Election (that of 1885) they exerted themselves vigorously in order that the 2,000,000 newly-enfranchised voters might be induced to support candidates who, if returned, would support their scheme in Parliament. They started on the principle that the relations which

exist between Church and State are bad in the interests of the Church itself, although Churchmen, who ought to know best, think differently. Now who are those people who all of a sudden take such a deep interest in religion? It is an undisputed fact that it is generally political Dissenters who thus interest themselves in religion, and that they are acting in alliance with Atheists and Freethinkers. The real design of the Society is open to suspicion; it is evident from its constitution that it is opposed to Christianity itself, and desirous of preventing the State from recognizing religion under any form.

Meanwhile, whilst its enemies were thus active, and danger was threatening the Church, Churchmen underrated the danger, and troubled themselves little about it. The Church Defence Institution (an excellent Society which, with its organ, *The National Church*, cannot be overrated) existed, but it did not receive the support which it deserved. But in the autumn of 1885 an event happened which turned the tide, and showed that Churchmen of all stations of life were determined to defend their Church.

After the strenuous exertions which were made by the Liberationists to extort pledges from candidates, in the event of their being elected to the new Parliament, to support Disestablishment, a statement appeared in the "Record" newspaper, that no fewer than 403 candidates—a number which the organ of the Liberation Society considered to be under the

mark—were more or less pledged to disestablishment. The list was published on September 11; Church people were immediately aroused to the impending danger to the Church, and determined to act with energy to defeat the designs of their assailants. From this time forward the power of the Church became every day more apparent. Meetings, at which well-qualified speakers freely offered themselves, under the auspices of the Church Defence Institution, were held in all parts of the kingdom; the utmost indignation on the part of Churchmen, and their most earnest determination to maintain the union between Church and State, was exhibited. As the election drew near, one candidate after another, who had thoughtlessly committed himself to the policy of disestablishment, eagerly disclaimed any intention of injuring the Church; and, said Mr. John Morley at Nottingham, if disestablishment were pressed at the elections, it would be "not only without the approval but against the wishes of the leaders of the (Liberal) party[f]." At the General Election which ensued on the dissolution of the short-lived Parliament of 1885—1886, although it cannot be said that the question of disestablishment was brought prominently before the electors, yet there were indica-

[f] Report of the Church Defence Institution, 1885—1886. The receipts of the Institution which in 1884 were £4,570 14*s.* 3*d.* arose, owing partly no doubt to exceptional causes, to £12,911 11*s.* 3*d.* in 1885, an increase of £8,340 17*s.*

tions that the drift of public opinion was growing less and less favourable to the policy of disestablishment, and the elections to the Parliament of 1886 resulted in a manner highly satisfactory to Churchmen. The number of the supporters of the Church has largely increased, whilst the more prominent of her opponents have been discarded by the constituencies.

But the Church, although she has learnt her strength, must not be over-confident. If the Church should ever be forced to become a political party (and nothing is so likely to effect this as disestablishment), she would be the most powerful political party in the State, her members being the most numerous and influential, and would be irresistible. Disestablishment would put the Church on her mettle; but if she would be strong after the battle, why should she not be equally strong in resisting disestablishment before it comes? Churchmen can stave it off to an indefinite time, if not for ever, provided they are in earnest. At present the Church seems, with regard to the Liberation Society, to be passing through that kind of lull which, we are told, sometimes occurs in the centre of some furious cyclone. But this lull must not be taken for the entire cessation of the storm. The Liberationists have been beaten all along the line, but such a motley host is not easily driven from the field. The forces engaged for and against the Church are permanent forces in

the life of the nation, and before long they will be at war again as furiously as ever. Meanwhile, the Church has a breathing-time. How should she employ it? If, said the Bishop of Peterborough some years ago, the Church shall use wisely that passing interval of comparative calm, in clearing the decks of the ship of their dangerous lumber, in strengthening the tackle, repairing what is weak and decayed by the storm, she will yet safely brave the double fury of the storm into which she is assuredly sailing. If Churchmen spend the interval in a fool's paradise of mutual congratulations, drifting along with easy and quiet confidence, as men drift away on quiet summer seas, unconscious of the gathering storm; then, as surely as the Church shall thus neglect and waste her opportunity, will the tempest smite her with a sudden and deserved destruction[5].

What, then, is the best method of Church Defence? The best, of course, is the Church herself; and though the population of the country has grown from nine millions in 1801 to twenty-seven millions, it may safely be said that never was the Church more efficient, more liberal, more willingly embraced by all classes of the community, than it is at present. In what other Church and in what other nation but England and the English Church could one find 10,000 working-men binding themselves together to

[5] Speech in the House of Lords, April 21, 1874.

do some active work, voluntarily and without payment, after their day's work is ended, in behalf of the spiritual powers and liberties and ritual of their Church[h]? If we talk of the voluntary system, what system is so voluntary as that of the Church of England? Our forefathers many hundreds of years ago thought the voluntary system a good one, when they gave the tenth of the yearly produce of their land to the Church for ever. It has been calculated on competent authority that the amount voluntarily contributed by Churchmen to various charitable objects during the last twenty-five years alone amounts to £81,575,000. What would the poor do if the Church was deprived of the means which it now possesses of doing good? The great advantage of an Established Church is to the poor, especially for the reason that it is *voluntary* in the widest sense of the term. No one is compelled to belong to her, nor to contribute to her maintenance; her endowments were voluntary from the first: Church alms and Church gifts are equally voluntary now.

It is well for the enemies of religion to favour the Liberationists; but religious Dissenters should remember that their interests and the interests of the Church are bound up together. The Church indeed is too deeply rooted in the hearts of the people to be more than ruffled by the passing storm; but of one

[h] The Church of England Working Men's Society.

thing Dissenters may be certain, viz. that if it were possible (which it is not) for the Church to be permanently weakened, it would not, in these days of school-boards and increased education, be to the advantage of Nonconformity; Agnosticism on the one hand, or Romanism on the other, might profit, but certainly not Protestant Nonconformity.

The opinion of a man like William Cobbett, a man brought up at the plough-tail, but who by his perseverance and energy raised himself in life, is important. He was a man seldom in favour of the Church, the unsparing castigator of the abuses which then prevailed, the "advocate of the rights of the people." What was his opinion of an Established Church? "An Established Church," he says, "a Church established on Christian principles, is this—that it provides an edifice sufficiently spacious for the assembling of the people in every parish; that it provides a spot for the interment of the dead; that it provides a Priest, or teacher of religion, to officiate in the edifice, to go to the houses of the inhabitants, to administer to the comforts of the distressed, to counsel the wayward, to teach the children their duty towards God, their parents, and their country; to perform the duties of marrying, baptizing, and burying; and particularly to initiate children into the first principles of religion and morality, and to cause them to communicate, that is to say, by an outward act of theirs to become members of the spiritual

Church of Christ; all of which things are to be *provided for by those who are the proprietors of the houses and lands of the parish;* and when so provided, are to be deemed the property or uses belonging to the poorest man in the parish, as well as the richest."

In the rural districts and in the great populous centres also of England the immediate consequences of disestablishment might be most serious. If the Church of England is not the religion of the poor, then certainly no other body is; and this position she owes to her parochial organization. Voluntaryism, as it is amongst the Nonconformists, must necessarily be a religion not of the poor but of the rich; of those who can afford to pay for it. As a neighbourhood becomes over-crowded and deteriorated, the richer people migrate to more respectable and more healthy localities, and the minister who requires to be paid by the congregation, in order to live, must migrate too. What then becomes of the poor unless the Church comes to the rescue? "In the largest town in my Diocese," says the Bishop of Durham[1], "the borough of Sunderland, during the six years of my episcopate, no less than five Dissenting chapels have been purchased by the Church, and are now used for her missionary purposes. . . . It was the necessity of the position which forced them to the

[1] Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Church Defence Institution, 1885.

sale. . . . The Church of England therefore stepped in, and vindicated her proud title as the evangelist of the poorest."

A little consideration will convince those who are not wilfully blind, of the evils of disestablishment. It would leave the nation without any national recognition of religion, and would lay open the throne to the succession of Roman Catholics, and even to persons of no religion at all. "In my opinion," said Sir William Harcourt[k], "he is a purblind politician who does not perceive that the residuary legatee of disestablishment will infallibly be the Church of Rome." The history of the Church enters so profoundly into the history of the country that, said Mr. Gladstone[l], "the severing of the two would leave nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass." The Liberationists desire to reduce the poor in our parishes to a state of spiritual starvation, by depriving them of their parish church and a resident Clergyman, who is always at hand to minister to the poor in sickness and in health, and to preside over the religious education of their children. If the Church were disestablished, tithes would be paid the same as they are now, but they would be paid to the government instead of the Clergy. No one would benefit by it. Not the landowner, because,

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[k] Speech at Oxford, December 21, 1874.
[l] Speech in House of Commons, May 16, 1873.

although the tenant would pay him tithe, it would not be his, and he would be called upon, as is the case with the disestablished Church of Ireland, to refund it to government. Not the farmer, because he would have to pay the tithe to the landlord. Not the tradespeople; the parish Clergyman, who is frequently a man of property, often spends in the parish much more than he takes from it. Not the dissenters, for if the Church were disendowed their endowments would go too; the same rule must be applied to Church and dissent alike.

Nor is the sum of money which would be derived by disendowing the Church so much as people are taught to imagine. The gross yearly value of the endowments of the Church is rather over £4,000,000. Of this sum tithes and rents given to the Church before the Reformation amount to about £1,950,000; since the Reformation to £2,250,000; in all a gross yearly amount of £4,200,000; or if we deduct £700,000 paid to the State as taxes, &c., other than income-tax, there is a net yearly value of about £3,500,000. There are in England probably at least ten lay-peers, each of whom has a yearly income equal to that of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons; and three or four whose incomes not only equal all these, but the incomes of all the Deans and Chapters in addition; whilst the aggregate incomes of fewer than twenty equal the total of the net endowments of the Church. "If the whole revenue of the Church," says

the *Times* newspaper[m], "glebes, rent-charges, parsonages, churches, episcopal and capitular incomes, were brought to the hammer, they would not fetch the amount of last year's moderate 'drink bill[n].'"

It is well to consider for a moment what the expense of disendowing would be, and what a miserable waste of money it would entail. And here we have the authority of no less a financier than Mr. Gladstone to guide us[o]. "I once made," he says, "a computation of what sort of allowance of property should be made to the Church of England if we were to distribute to her upon the same rules of equity and liberality with respect to property which we adopted in the case of the Irish Church, and I made out that between life-incomes, private endowments, and the value of fabrics and advowsons, something like £90,000,000 sterling would have to be given in this process of disestablishment to the ministers, members, and patrons of the Church of England. That is a very staggering kind of arrangement to make in supplying the young lady with a fortune, and turning her out on the world!"

Wherever a parish church stands there stands the centre of the religious, the intellectual, and social life of the parishioners; where the rich possess a friend of like birth and education with themselves,

[m] March 29, 1881.
[n] The Bill for 1880 amounted to £128,000,000.
[o] Speech in House of Commons May 16, 1873.

the poor equally find a friend who sympathises with them in their troubles and is ready to help them in their distress; where their children receive instruction and are taught to lead a Christian and a godly life; where Churchmen and Dissenters are alike welcomed. What can the Liberationists substitute for such a principle? On whom could they rely under a voluntary system? What certainty would there be that the poor were looked after as they now are, the fabric of the Church maintained, its services devoutly conducted, and the Bible preached to rich and poor alike without fee and without expense?

Trinity Sunday, 1886, marked the Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign—the period of forty-nine (seven times seven) years — which, originally enjoined by the Divine Lawgiver, was under the Christian dispensation taken over by the Church. The object of a Jubilee is to thank God for mercies vouchsafed to a nation during the preceding period of seven times seven years. Only three such royal Jubilees have occurred in this country; these were in the reign of Henry III., who reigned 56 years, Edward III. 50 years, and George III. 60 years. A comparison between the state of the nation in 1837 and 1886—the vast strides which the country has made in wealth, and power, and general prosperity—might well occupy the pen of the secular historian. It is ours to be thankful for the progress which the Church has made in a reign, the commencement of which

was almost coeval with the Oxford movement, and fifty years of which have witnessed such a marvellous advance of the Church—the revival of Catholic worship, and ritual, and art—to its present efficiency. In 1837 the Church was sunk in the depths in which the Georgian era had left it, and statesmen regarded it as a Parliamentary institution to be used by them for State purposes. Far different is the aspect which the Church of 1886 presents. "It may be said with truth," says Dr. Döllinger[p], "that no Church is so national, so deeply rooted in popular affection, so bound up with the institutions of the country, or so powerful in its influence on national character.... What I should estimate most highly is the fact that the cold, dull indifferentism which on the Continent has spread like a deadly mildew over all degrees of society, has no place in the British Isles." Ever since England was a nation Englishmen have insisted upon a national profession of religion by the State, and England has prospered. Surely it is the duty of those who oppose it to give some ground for believing that the nation will become nobler and better by renouncing that profession.

[p] Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches.

APPENDIX A.

(See vol. ii. p. 332.)

EXTRACT FROM LETTER WRITTEN IN 1571 BY ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL TO HIEROM ZANCHIUS[a].

IT appears that Zanchius, who was Public Reader of Divinity at Strasbourg, whose acquaintance Grindal had made while he lived there, wished to send a letter to Queen Elizabeth on behalf of certain English recusants, entreating her not to enforce the use of *rites* to which they objected. This letter he first sent to Grindal, requesting his advice respecting it. Grindal, having first consulted the Bishops, some Privy Councillors, and other people of position in the Church, wrote the letter, from which the following is an extract, to Zanchius, dissuading him from sending his letter to the Queen, and giving his reasons:—

"When first her Highness Elizabeth, under most happy auspices, began her reign, the Popish doctrine and worship being cast off, she restored all things to that standard of the administration of the Word of God and the Sacraments and the whole of religion which had been drawn up and established during the reign of Edward VI. of happy but also of most lamented memory. To this all the states of the kingdom, with full consent, gave their voices in the Great Council of the Nation, which in our vernacular lan-

[a] Remains of Grindal, edited for the Parker Society, p. 338.

guage we call the Parliament. The authority of the Council is so great that the laws made therein cannot by any means be dissolved except by the sanction of the same. Whereas then in this form of religion of which I have spoken, drawn up by King Edward, there were many commands respecting the habits properly adapted to ministers of the Church [b], and also concerning other things which some good men *wished to be abolished or amended*, it was forbidden by the authority of the law that any one should meddle with this matter. Yet the law itself *allowed the Queen's Majesty*, with the advice of some of the Bishops, *to alter* some things. *Nothing, however, of the law is either altered or diminished;* nor, as far as I know, is there a Bishop who does not himself obey the prescribed rules, and also lead or persuade the rest to do so. . . . Almost all the other Ministers of the Church also, learned and unlearned, seem not unwillingly to give in to the same opinion with the Bishops."

There is another important letter extant, dated August 27, 1566 (soon after the publication of the Advertisements), from Grindal, at that time Bishop of London (Bishop of London, 1559, Archbishop of York, 1570, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1576), to Bullinger, showing that the Bishops had learnt to submit to the newly-appointed ceremonial:—"We who are now Bishops, on our first return, and before we entered on our ministry, contended long and earnestly for the removal of those things which have occasioned the present dispute; but as we were unable to prevail either with the Queen or the Parliament, we judged

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[b] See vol. ii. p. 329. A return had been made to the Vestments prescribed under the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI

it best, after consultation on the subject, ***not to desert our Churches for the sake of a few ceremonies***, and those not unlawful in themselves, especially since the pure doctrine of the Gospel remained in all its integrity and freedom." See also Strype's Grindal, 243—251; also the State of the Church of England as described by Percival Wiburn in the Archives of Zurich.

APPENDIX B.

(See vol. ii. p. 464.)

RELIGIOUS SECTS.

PLACES of meeting for religious worship in England and Wales have been certified to the Registrar-General on behalf of persons described as follows:—

Advent Christians, The
Advents, The
Anglican Church.
Apostolics.
Arminian New Society.
Baptists.
Baptized Believers.
Believers in Christ.
Believers in the Divine Visitation of Joanna Southcote, Prophetess of Exeter.
Believers meeting in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.
Benevolent Methodists.
Bible Christians.
Bible Defence Association.
Brethren.
Calvinistic Baptists.
Calvinists and Welsh Calvinists.
Catholic Apostolic Church.
Christadelphians.
Christians owning no name but the Lord Jesus.
Christians who object to be otherwise designated.
Christian Believers.
Christian Brethren.
Christian Disciples.
Christian Eliasites.
Christian Israelites.
Christian Mission.
Christian Teetotalers.
Christian Temperance Men.
Christian Unionists.
Church of Scotland.
Church of Christ.
Church of the People.
Church of Progress.
Congregational Baptists.
Congregational Temperance Free Church.
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.
Covenanters.
Coventry Mission Band.
Danish Lutherans.
Dependents.
Disciples in Christ.
Disciples of Jesus Christ.
Eastern Orthodox Greek Church.

Eclectics.
Episcopalian Dissenters.
Evangelical Free Church.
Evangelical Mission.
Evangelical Unionists.
Followers of the Lord Jesus Christ.
Free Catholic Christian Church.
Free Christian Association.
Free Christians.
Free Church.
Free Church (Episcopal).
Free Church of England.
Free Evangelical Christians.
Free Grace Gospel Christians.
Free Gospel and Christian Brethren.
Free Gospel Church.
Free Gospellers.
Free Methodists.
Free Union Church.
General Baptists.
General Baptist New Connexion.
German Evangelical Community.
German Lutherans.
German Roman Catholics.
German Wesleyans.
Glassites.
Glory Band.
Greek Catholic.
Halifax Psychological Society.
Hallelujah Band.
Hope Mission.
Humanitarians.
Independents.
Independent Church of England.
Independent Methodists.
Independent Religious Reformers.
Independent Unionists.
Inghamites.
Israelites.
Jews.
Latter Day Saints.
Lutherans.
Methodist Reform Union.
Missionaries.
Modern Methodists.
Moravians.
Mormons.
Newcastle Sailors' Society.
New Church.
New Connexion General Baptists.
New Connexion Wesleyans.
New Hebrew Congregation.
New Jerusalem Church.
New Methodists.
Old Baptists.
Open Baptists.
Open Brethren.
Order of St. Austin.
Orthodox Eastern Church.
Particular Baptists.
Peculiar People.
Plymouth Brethren.
Polish Society.
Portsmouth Mission.
Presbyterian Church in England.
Presbyterian Church of England.

Presbyterian Baptists.
Primitive Congregation.
Primitive Free Church.
Primitive Methodists.
Progressionists.
Protestant Members of the Church of England.
Protestants adhering to Articles 1 to 18, but rejecting Ritual.
Protestant Trinitarians.
Protestant Union.
Providence.
Quakers.
Ranters.
Rational Christians.
Recreative Religionists.
Reformers.
Reformed Church of England.
Reformed Episcopal Church.
Reformed Presbyterians or Covenanters.
Reform Free Church Wesleyan Methodists.
Refuge Methodists.
Revivalists.
Revival Band.
Roman Catholics.
Salem Society.
Salvation Army.
Sandemanians.
Scotch Baptists.
Second Advent Brethren.
Secularists.
Separatists (Protestant).
Seventh Day Baptists.
Society of the New Church.
Spiritual Church.
Spiritualists.
Strict Baptists.
Swedenborgians.
Temperance Methodists.
Testimony Congregational Church.
Theistic Church.
Trinitarians.
Union Baptists.
Union Churchmen.
Union Congregationalists.
Union Free Church.
Unionists.
Unitarians.
Unitarian Baptists.
Unitarian Christians.
United Brethren or Moravians.
United Christian Army.
United Christian Church.
United Free Methodist Church.
United Presbyterians.
Universal Christians.
Unsectarian.
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.
Welsh Free Presbyterians.
Welsh Wesleyan Methodists.
Wesleyans.
Wesleyan Methodist Association.
Wesleyan Reformers.
Wesleyan Reform Glory Band.
Working Man's Evangelistic Mission Chapels.
Worshippers of God.
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